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China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 256



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CHINA REPORT

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CONTENTS

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Soviet-U.S. Relations, Tensions Outlined (Fan Lu, Qi Zhi; BANYUETAN, 25 Oct 81)	1
Polish Military Council Assesses Situation (XINHUA, 15 Dec 81)	5
Poland Enters 3d Day of State of Siege (XINHUA, 16 Dec 81)	6
Reagan on Polish Situation, U.S. Position (XINHUA, 18 Dec 81)	8
Warsaw Mayor Views Situation in Polish Capital (XINHUA, 17 Dec 81)	9
Polish Military Council on Economic System (XINHUA, 19 Dec 81)	10
FRG Leaders Call for Nonintervention in Poland (XINHUA, 15 Dec 81)	11
Polish Spokesman on Martial Law Declaration (XINHUA, 14 Dec 81)	12
Syria Calls for UN Action on Israeli Golan Plan (XINHUA, 17 Dec 81)	13
UN Council Delegates Rap Israeli Golan Action (XINHUA, 18 Dec 81)	14

U.S. Public Demands Action Against Israel (XINHUA, 17 Dec 81).....	15
Israel Scored at UN General Assembly for Annexing Golan Heights (XINHUA, 16 Dec 81).....	16
UN General Assembly Urges Israeli Withdrawal From Arab Lands (XINHUA, 15 Dec 81).....	17
Egyptian Cabinet Hits Israeli Annexation Plan (XINHUA, 17 Dec 81).....	18
Egypt Suspends Autonomy Talks After Golan Decision (XINHUA, 16 Nov 81).....	19
Third World Countries Support UN Nomination (XINHUA, 14 Dec 81).....	20
36th UN General Assembly Session Recesses (XINHUA, 19 Dec 81).....	21
India's Gandhi Seeks Better Relations With Pakistan (XINHUA, 15 Dec 81).....	22
UN General Assembly Resolutions Condemn Apartheid in S. Africa (XINHUA, 18 Dec 81).....	23
DPRK Reunification Group Hits S. Korea's Chon (XINHUA, 17 Dec 81).....	24
Rostow on USSR Aim To Separate Europe, U.S. (XINHUA, 11 Dec 81).....	25
Syrian Assembly on Israeli Annexation Decision (XINHUA, 17 Dec 81).....	26
U.S.-USSR Nuclear Weapons Talks Adjourn (XINHUA, 18 Dec 81).....	27
Thailand Takes Measures To Strengthen Its Defense (XINHUA, 18 Dec 81).....	28
Pakistan President Comments on Afghan Issue (XINHUA, 21 Dec 81).....	30
Briefs	
Carrington on Mideast, Polish Situations	31
Poland Increases Food Supplies	31
Yugoslav Talks With Polish Envoy	31
DPRK Condemns Israeli Action	32
Thatcher Hits Israel's Move	32
Hungary Views Polish Events	32

Polish Parties Support Military Commission	32
Spanish CP Opposes Takeover	33
Foreign Ministers Express Concern	33
UK Declares Nonintervention Policy	33
India Views Polish Emergency	33
UNSC Condemns Israeli Action	34
Tass Statement Assesses Polish Developments	34
U.S. Officials on U.S.-Israeli Ties	34
U.S. Officials on Poland, USSR	34
UNGA Resolution Deplores Israeli Action	35
UNGA Hits Israeli Occupation	35

PARTY AND STATE

Thorough Criticism of Leftist Hebei Official Undertaken (Xue Zhiping, Zhang Zhensheng; HEBEI RIBAO, 28 Oct 81).....	36
Spiritual, Material Relations in Socialist Society Studied (Lu Lieying; SHAANXI RIBAO, 5 Nov 81).....	41
Cadres Advised To Practice Self-Discipline (ZHEJIANG RIBAO, 31 Oct 81).....	45
Refrain From Relying on Conventional Phrases, Cliches Urged (Jin Ou; HEBEI RIBAO, 28 Oct 81).....	48
'Ideological Line,' 'Organization Line' Explained (Zhao Tingyu; NINGXIA RIBAO, 5 Nov 81).....	51
Ideological, Political Education Work in Schools Stressed (ZHEJIANG RIBAO, 15 Nov 81).....	53
Party Workstyle Rectification Successful in Shenyang (RENMIN RIBAO, 27 Nov 81).....	55
Correct Workstyle for Central Organs Applauded (RENMIN RIBAO, 3 Dec 81).....	57
Organization Department Offers Model Ministers Set Examples, by Li Gengchen	
Hebei Cadres To Get Remedial Work on Criterion for Truth (Li Decun; HEBEI RIBAO, 24 Oct 81).....	61
Renewed Emphasis on Party Work in One County in Hebei (Zhang Chengxun; HEBEI RIBAO, 24 Oct 81).....	64
Cultural Revolution Found Devoid of Merit (Zhu Hongwen; XINHUA RIBAO, 27 Oct 81).....	67

TAIWAN

Response to Ye's Proposal for Reunification Favorable

(BANYUETAN, 25 Oct 81).....

70

World Press Opinion, by Liu Maojian

Overseas Chinese Reaction, by Wang Can

Points of the Proposal

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

SOVIET-U.S. RELATIONS, TENSIONS OUTLINED

Beijing BANYUETAN [SEMI-MONTHLY TALKS] in Chinese No 20, 25 Oct 81 pp 48-51

[Article by Fan Lu [0416 6424] and Qi Zhi [0796 2535]: "A Discussion of Soviet-U.S. Relations"]

[Text] The international situation is changeable, and world contradictions are complex. One important contradiction is the struggle for world hegemony between the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union. The development of U.S.-Soviet relations affects the world situation as a whole, and one must understand U.S.-Soviet relations in order to study the world situation.

Bilateral Relations at a Low Temperature

Early this year the Reagan government came to power in the United States and pursued a rather hard line toward the Soviet Union, clearly calling for rearmament and competition with the Soviet Union. At about the same time, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union held its "26th Congress" and launched a "peace offensive," directed against the United States, to split Western Europe. After this, both sides engaged in verbal battles and threatened each other. The United States said that the Soviet Union was "the source of all disturbances" and wanted the Soviet Union "to exercise restraint" and not to stick its hand in everywhere. The Soviet Union wanted the United States "to come to its senses" and stop trying to regain military superiority.

For a while after this, the temperature of U.S.-Soviet relations dropped. The U. S. press thinks that the "period of detente" between the United States and the Soviet Union has already passed and that a "period of cold war" is now approaching. The Soviets compare the relations to those during the cold war period and even say that relations are on "the road to confrontation."

However, U.S.-Soviet relations have always had moments of relaxation in periods of tension, and things always go on normally in dealings between the two countries. Last year, the Carter government banned shipments to the Soviet Union and sharply reduced the volume of trade in order to protest Soviet aggression in Afghanistan. In April of this year, for a variety of reasons, the Reagan government canceled the ban on shipments of food to the Soviet Union, and as a result bilateral trade increased sharply. In the first half of this year, the volume of U.S.-Soviet trade increased by two-thirds. At the same time that the United

States reopened trade with the Soviet Union, it also reemphasized strict controls on the export of high technology to the Soviet Union.

Arms Race Spurred

For many years the two superpowers have tried to overtake each other in the arms race through a general escalation. In the past 10 years or so, because of the defeat in Vietnam and economic difficulties, the United States has slowed the pace of military expansion and the Soviet Union has taken this opportunity to catch up. According to reports in the Western press, in the output of important weapons the Soviet Union last year produced five times as many surface-submarine-launched guided missiles, four times as many tanks, three times as many fighter planes, and twice as many warships as the United States.

With regard to the present balance of military forces, the Soviet Union emphasizes that both sides have formed a "strategic balance," and it blames the United States for "striving to gain strategic superiority." The United States says that the increase in Soviet military strength creates "a power imbalance of grave concern," and [Washington] is resolved "to correct it." From assessments of the military situation, foreign observers generally think that both sides are evenly matched. The Soviet Union has a greater quantity, but the United States has a higher quality. Present trends, however, do not favor the United States.

The Reagan government came to power emphasizing the economy and the military. It proposed large increases in military expenditures and reemphasized military might. Military expenditures for 1982, were set at \$226.2 billion, a 14.6-percent increase over 1981. From 1983 to 1986, military expenditures will gradually increase 7 percent. The five-year grand total for military expenditures will reach \$1.5 trillion. Plans to expand the military by this magnitude are unprecedented in American history.

Recently, the United States adopted a series of important measures to turn around the decline in military affairs. In early August, the Reagan government announced its decision to produce the neutron bomb, hoping to use it to counteract the Soviet Union's superiority in conventional arms. In early October, the Reagan government further announced that it had changed its plans for strategic nuclear strength and had developed a "triad" strategic weapons system--i.e., the land-based MX missile, the B-1 bomber, and the Trident guided missile submarine. At the same time, there was also a modification in U.S. military strategy. Originally, the United States was prepared to "fight a war and a half"--i.e., to be able to fight a major war in one place and at the same time fight a minor war in another. Now this has changed to being ready to fight two large-scale wars. In short, the United States is now challenging the Soviet Union for superiority.

However, although the U.S. economic base is solid, it will be difficult for it to bear such enormous plans for military expansion. The five-year plan was announced only 6 months ago, but the fact that reductions now must be considered shows that the [United States'] ability is not up to its ambitions.

What about the Soviet Union? The Kremlin has kept the exact amount of the Soviet Union's military expenditures a closely guarded secret. According to

Western estimates, their military expenditures in the past few years have exceeded those of the United States. In today's Soviet Union, the guided missiles are numerous, but the food shelves in the shops are almost empty. Although it is running out of breath in the arms race, its strength has not diminished. It claims it will adopt "appropriate measures" to deal with the U.S. neutron bomb.

On the other hand, the Soviet Union is attempting to use the arms limitation talks to restrict the United States and reduce its military expansion momentum. These talks will begin at the end of this year, and one can imagine what the prospects are. The arms race between the two countries has historically kept pace with disarmament talks: talk is talk, deeds are deeds, and the more they talk the more they do.

Three Important Battle Zones in the Bid for Power

As we look at today's world, the flash of weapons in the rivalry between the Soviet Union and the United States is everywhere. They contend over strategic bases, strategic materials, and energy resources. In short, this rivalry consists of the Soviet Union wanting to expand and the United States having interests it wants to protect.

The rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union is now concentrated in three important strategic areas: Western Europe, the Middle East and Persian Gulf area, and the Far East.

In Western Europe, which is a strategic key point for both the United States and the Soviet Union, two questions are rather important for both sides: one is the question of the arms of the two large military blocs, and the other is the situation in Poland. The Soviet Union now has over 200 SS-20 medium-range ballistic missiles stationed in Europe and aimed at the NATO countries. The NATO bloc was not about to give in, and it has plans to deploy the new Pershing II missiles and cruise missiles in 1983. Mutual recriminations have destroyed the military balance in Central Europe, and both are planning in the coming talks to limit their opponents and expand themselves.

The Polish situation is actually an affair for the Polish people themselves, but the Soviet Union sees it as trouble in its own backyard and is uneasy, so not only has it made public threats, but it has even prepared to use force. The United States has expressed support for "changing" trends in Eastern Europe, hoping to make a breach here. It has warned Moscow that if it intervenes militarily in Poland, the West will adopt sanctions. Not long ago, both military blocs held large-scale military exercises in Europe, making a show of force and threatening each other.

If they do not seize Europe, they cannot claim the title of world leaders. To seize Europe, both sides have intensified the struggle on its periphery. The Middle East and the Persian Gulf are the hottest spots in the Soviet-U.S. rivalry. The Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan to the south to press southward toward India, to get closer to the oil-rich Persian Gulf, and to threaten the immediate interests of the United States and the Western nations. At the same time, the

Soviet Union has utilized the weakness of the United States' isolated position in the Arab world because of its support of Israel to find ways to infiltrate the Middle East. It utilized the isolated position of the Lebanon "guided missile crisis" and attacked the United States, it attempted to fish in troubled waters in the war between Iran and Iraq and in the Iranian upheaval, and it supported the treaty signed between South Yemen, Ethiopia, and Libya, which was essentially a military alliance. All of these actions were directed against the United States.

Faced with steady pressure from the Soviet Union, the United States took a series of countermeasures in this area. It decided to supply Pakistan, Afghanistan's neighbor, with \$3 billion in military and economic assistance; it helped the Muslim guerrillas in Afghanistan to resist the Soviet Union; it increased its military presence in the Middle East, organizing a "rapid deployment force" which can respond as soon as something happens; it has secured permission to build bases in Oman and Somalia and, if necessary, to use the facilities of Egypt and other countries; it has sent special emissaries to shuttle back and forth in the Middle East to facilitate a cease-fire in Lebanon and to keep the Soviet Union from deriving benefits. Both countries are staring at each other eyeball to eyeball, and things are very tense.

In the Far East, the appeal of the Li Sun [7812 4571] clique in Vietnam for help permitted the Soviet Union to acquire important bases in Jinlanwan [6855 5695 3494] and Xiangang [1501 3263] and to attempt to use Bangxungang [4319 6676 3263] in Kampuchea. The Soviet Union's intentions are very clear: to utilize Vietnam to expand their influence in Southeast Asia even further, in order to seize the channel between the two oceans--the Straits of Molucca--and complete their "dumbbell strategy."

The United States cannot put up with this strategic plot to have itself placed in a perilous position, so it has adopted a series of corresponding measures. Apart from expressing its intention to develop relations with China and oppose Vietnam's occupation of Kampuchea, the United States wants Japan to strengthen its defenses and assume the task of protecting Japanese territory and the lines of communication in the seas near Japan. To counter Soviet and Vietnamese expansion, the United States has expressed its intention to increase military assistance to the ASEAN countries.

The rivalry between the Soviet Union and the United States frequently creates a crisis in some areas, upsetting the political situation and making people suffer. This protracted rivalry can grow in intensity. The aggressive expansion of the Soviet Union, in particular, should make people heighten their vigilance even more. The people of all countries in the world must raise high the banner of opposing hegemonism and striving for world peace. What will ultimately decide the fate of the world is not the superpowers, but the peoples of the countries of the world.

8226

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

POLISH MILITARY COUNCIL ASSESSES SITUATION

OW151938 Beijing XINHUA in English 1916 GMT 15 Dec 81

[Text] Warsaw, 15 Dec (XINHUA)--The Polish Military Council of National Salvation headed by General Wojciech Jaruzelski at a meeting Monday afternoon took stock of the under martial law situation and defined the roles to be played by the armed forces, the state apparatus and economic establishments.

Plenipotentiary representatives sent by the National Defence Committee to the government ministries were present at the meeting.

The Economic Committee under the Council of Ministers met on the same day to discuss the committee's special tasks under the martial law. It called for urgent and effective measures to coordinate the activities of the various agencies of economic management.

The committee will strive to purchase 800,000 tons of grain by February 1982.

In the past 2 days of martial law, a number of specific decisions and measures have been taken to ensure economic and public order in the country. The military has taken over all the offices of the Defence Ministry and about 200 enterprises and establishments under various other ministries.

A spokesman of the Ministry of Internal Affairs announced last night that some members of the Solidarity Union had attempted to organize strikes in defiance of the martial law. In the Katowice steel works, one of Poland's biggest metallurgical enterprises, an attempt to call a strike and occupy the works was smashed and a dozen or so agitators and organizers were detained and will be brought to trial on criminal charges.

In the city of Lodz, leaders of the local chapter of "Solidarity" have been detained for calling people to an assembly and distributing anti-government leaflets on 13 December. They will be prosecuted according to law, said the spokesman.

CSO: 4000/37

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

POLAND ENTERS 3D DAY OF STATE OF SIEGE

OW162359 Beijing XINHUA in English 1854 GMT 16 Dec 81

[Text] Beijing, 16 Dec (XINHUA)--Pedestrians hurried along Warsaw's sidewalks and all big stores did their business as usual in the third day of the state of siege Tuesday, according to reports received from the Polish capital.

The only reminders of the emergency were the soldiers in full battle dress guarding the major intersections and buildings and machinegun positions at the bridgeheads and army tents which dotted the banks of the Vistula.

The Polish News Agency, PAP, reported today that "a calm and solemn atmosphere prevailed in the city of Krakow in the south with its traffic, commerce and supply of goods going on as usual." In the rail junction of Lublin in the southeast, "the situation remains calm and people observe discipline well."

Dockers in Szczecin in the northwest were working as usual, the PAP report said. In Bydgoszcz northwest of Warsaw, "the situation is calm on the whole" with "the majority of its factories operating."

Still, there were reports of disturbances and unrest. The spokesman of the procuratorate-general announced today that "a whole lot of leaders and members of local chapters of the Solidarity were arrested for violating the state of siege regulations and agitating for strikes" in Warsaw, Koszalin, Lodz and other places in the past 2 days.

The Polish Government press office announced yesterday that 32 former party and state leaders and government ministers including Edward Gierek, Piotr Jaroszewicz, Edward Babiuch and Jan Szydlak, had been detained on orders of the Military Council of National Salvation.

PAP reported that Prime Minister Wojciech Jaruzelski yesterday dismissed the governors of Katowice, Elblag, Koszalin and Radom Provinces, who had "failed to perform their duties properly," and appointed a lieutenant general and three colonels to take their places.

As required by the state of siege, the Ministry of Posts and Telegraph decided partially to stop services of international, long distance and city telephones and

telex and telegraph. The Polish airlines announced that its domestic and international flights remained suspended.

The Council of State today granted amnesty to those who had committed offenses or transgressions "for lack of adequate political consciousness" before 13 December this year.

CSO: 4000/37

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

REAGAN ON POLISH SITUATION, U.S. POSITION

OW181700 Beijing XINHUA in English 1634 GMT 18 Dec 81

[Text] Washington, 17 Dec (XINHUA)--U.S. President Ronald Reagan said at a White House press conference today that the United States would not allow the Soviet Union to "get away with it" in Poland.

Reagan said his administration is following the situation in Poland with special apprehension. The U.S. and its allies in Western Europe, he said, have made it very plain to the Soviet Union "how seriously we would take any overt interference or military interference in Poland."

When asked whether the United States allows the Soviet Union to impose its will in Poland, the president answered, "No, we are not telling them they can get away with it."

He said, "It would be naive to think this (martial law in Poland) could happen without the full knowledge and the support of the Soviet Union. We're not naive."

He emphasized that the Polish problems should be "left to themselves (Polish people)." He urged the Polish Government to "reestablish conditions that will make constructive negotiations and compromise possible."

He confirmed that the United States has suspended food shipments to Poland, saying "it will be impossible for us to continue trying to help Poland solve its economic problems while martial law is imposed on the people of Poland."

CSO: 4000/37

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

WARSAW MAYOR VIEWS SITUATION IN POLISH CAPITAL

OW171851 Beijing XINHUA in English 1837 GMT 17 Dec 81

[Text] Beijing, 17 Dec (XINHUA)--Mayor Jerzy Majewski told foreign newsmen last night that the situation in the Polish capital had been "satisfactory on the whole" in the 4 days since the proclamation of the state of siege, according to a report from Warsaw.

Answering a question, he said that strikes and partial stoppages did take place in a dozen or so factories. Some of these factories had resumed production yesterday, he added.

Asked when radio contacts with the outside world would reopen, he replied, "All depends on how things will develop. It is our hope that telecommunications would reopen as soon as possible."

He said that the supply of bread and milk in the capital had improved on 15 December. The dairies and bakeries in the city were working full blast to increase production. Some 100 private bakeries had joined in the effort. The supply of other daily necessities stayed at the same level before the stage of siege.

City transport had been normal, he said, with no major incidents or strikes. On 14 December, the day after the state of siege was proclaimed, several thousand workers and employees voluntarily helped the army and police to preserve law and order in the city. Mixed patrols of soldiers, militiamen and workers began to appear in the city's streets yesterday, he said.

CSO: 4000/37

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

POLISH MILITARY COUNCIL ON ECONOMIC SYSTEM

OW190809 Beijing XINHUA in English 0711 GMT 19 Dec 81

[Text] Beijing, 18 Dec (XINHUA)--The Polish Military Council of National Salvation yesterday instructed the government to have the economic leading structure adapted to the conditions of the state of siege, according to the Polish News Agency PAP.

The instruction, which came from a Military Council decision yesterday, also urged that the initiatives of the workers be brought into full play and economic results improved.

The Military Council reiterated its resolve to carry out all-round economic reform.

The decision stipulates:

1. All economic activities in the country at present should give priority to the ensurance of food supply, health care and medical service for the people; and
2. The guiding principles of the resolution made on 30 November by the Council of Ministers for state-run enterprises' operations in 1982 should be adapted to the conditions of the state of siege, so that "the self-management principle of enterprises in making decisions on production, employment, wage and in signing contracts for purchases and sales be guaranteed to the maximum extent."

The Military Council ordered the government to make the workers' self-management activities adapted to the conditions of the state of siege immediately.

The Military Council said it expected the workers, engineers, technical personnels and all the working people to "understand the will of the council to realize true democratization" in social life in Poland. It appealed for "general support" from the citizens.

The Polish Government has made some decisions on economic problems under the present circumstances.

The Economic Commission of the Council of Ministers met on 16 and 17 December to discuss fuel, power and forestry problems.

CSO: 4000/37

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

FRG LEADERS CALL FOR NONINTERVENTION IN POLAND

OW151544 Beijing XINHUA in English 1501 GMT 15 Dec 81

[Text] Beijing, 15 Dec (XINHUA)--West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt Monday called on all nations to refrain from intervening in Poland and said that the Poles should be allowed to solve their own problems without outside interference, Western news agencies reported.

This West German stand was disclosed by the chancellor's spokesman who at a regular news conference on Monday declared that the Bonn Government maintains:

--It is important that the Polish crisis be controlled.

--The Polish reform movement must continue.

--Poland must be allowed to solve its own problems in a spirit of consensus through compromise without the use of force or outside interference.

"The government is following strictly a policy of non-interference in line with the Helsinki declaration and it hopes all other signatories will do the same," Schmidt was quoted as saying.

West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher told Poland on the same day that his government was following events there with sympathy and concern, and hoped Polish leaders could master the situation without violence or outside intervention. The views were conveyed to Warsaw's Acting Ambassador Miroslaw Wojtowski during a meeting at the latter's request.

CSO: 4000/37

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

POLISH SPOKESMAN ON MARTIAL LAW DECLARATION

OW142022 Beijing XINHUA in English 1705 GMT 14 Dec 81

[Text] Warsaw, 13 Dec (XINHUA)--Polish Government spokesman Jerzy Urban told foreign journalists hours after General Wojciech Jaruzelski declared martial law today that the situation in the country was "on the whole calm."

The Solidarity leader, Lech Walesa, he said, was having high-level talks with the authorities near this capital.

"Walesa is not arrested and not interned," Urban said. "He is being treated with all due respect. He is considered the leader of Solidarity and the activities of Solidarity, like those of other unions, have only been suspended."

He said small crowds had demonstrated in front of the headquarters of the Warsaw chapter of Solidarity and there were some minor disturbances in Krakow.

A number of activists of Solidarity had been detained for violation of law and order of the country, he said. Some of them will be released after interrogation and others will be punished in accordance with law.

He assured the newsmen that the martial law will be temporary. "The shorter its duration, the better. We hope the duration would be very short; but it all depends on the circumstances."

Asked about the reactions of the Soviet Union and other East European countries, Urban said, "Poland is a sovereign state and its United Workers' Party and government have the strength to bring their own cause to fruition by themselves."

He expressed satisfaction with Archbishop Jozef Glemp's appeal today to the nation to stay calm and work as usual.

He told reporters that there will be no change in Poland's foreign policy.

CSO: 4000/37

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

SYRIA CALLS FOR UN ACTION ON ISRAELI GOLAN PLAN

OW151646 Beijing XINHUA in English 1619 GMT 15 Dec 81

[XINHUA headline—"Syria Determined to Defend Territory"]

[Text] Damascus, 14 Dec (XINHUA)--The Syrian Government Monday declared that it has "the right to take appropriate measures" against Israel for its annexation of the Golan Heights and requested a meeting of the United Nations Security Council, according to Damascus media reports.

The declaration was made in a statement issued by the Syrian Government. The statement said that the Israeli's annexation of the Golan Heights has "violated grossly and flagrantly the UN charter and UN resolutions, including Resolution 338." Israel's annexation of the occupied Syrian territories is a declaration of war on Syria, the statement added.

It also stated: "While expressing deep concern over this new aggressive step, the government of the Syrian Arab Republic, motivated by its national and pan-Arab responsibilities, wishes to reaffirm its determination to confront this step and to appeal to world public opinion for support in a confrontation against this grave development."

"As a first step, the Syrian Arab Government has requested an urgent meeting of the Security Council to deal with this grave situation which threatens security and peace in the region and the world and has requested the Security Council to adopt a resolution declaring the Israeli measures invalid and imposing sanctions on the Israeli enemy in implementation of the UN charter and resolutions."

"The Syrian Government reaffirms that it will spare no effort to defend its territory and its national and pan Arab interests."

Meanwhile, 'Abd al-Halim Khaddam, Syrian deputy premier and foreign minister, met in his office Monday with the ambassadors of countries with permanent representation in the United Nations Security Council. Khaddam reportedly told the ambassadors of Syria's rejection of Israel's aggressive and expansionist measures. He informed the ambassadors that the application of Israeli law on the occupied Syrian territory constitutes a violation of the UN charter and resolutions.

CSO: 4000/37

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

UN COUNCIL DELEGATES RAP ISRAELI GOLAN ACTION

OW180803 Beijing XINHUA in English 0716 GMT 18 Dec 81

[Text] United Nations, 17 Dec (XINHUA)--Israel was again under heavy fire for its annexation of the Golan Heights when the UN Security Council resumed its consideration of the Israeli move today.

Romanian representative Teodor Marinescu said that the Security Council must demand that Israel immediately rescind its decision to annex the Golan Heights.

Yugoslav representative Miljan Komatina said that Israel's decision constituted a serious challenge to Syria and the Arab world and to international peace and security. The Israeli act reconfirmed that what Israel strove for was not peace in the Middle East, but domination and expansion, he said.

Pakistani representative Niaz A. Naik said that the Israeli decision to annex Jerusalem and now the occupied Golan Heights represented yet another stage of its unbridled expansionism and continued aggression against the Arab and Palestinian people. The Israeli move to convert its occupation into de jure annexation was a blatant assertion of the right to conquest, he stated.

Philippine representative Alejandro Yango said that no state under whatever pretext had the right to acquire territory by force.

Niger representative Ide Oumarou pointed out that Israel's decision, coming at a time when the General Assembly was examining the Middle East situation and when the international community was searching for a just and lasting peace in the region, could only be seen as a new defiance of the international community by the Tel Aviv authorities.

Zairian representative Kamanda Wa Kamanda said that the annexation of Syria's Golan Heights was the height of arbitrariness and made the search for a peaceful solution in the Middle East more difficult. Israel was perpetuating tension in the world, and making no contribution to peace, he added.

Mexican representative Porfirio Munoz Ledo said that the annexation of the Golan Heights was null and void for the international community, because to tolerate it would be tantamount to admitting the validity of the acquisition of territory by force.

CSO: 4000/37

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

U.S. PUBLIC DEMANDS ACTION AGAINST ISRAEL

OW171228 Beijing XINHUA in English 1204 GMT 17 Dec 81

[Text] Washington, 16 Dec (XINHUA)--The Israeli authorities' arbitrary action of annexing the Golan Heights has irritated U.S. public opinion which holds that in addition to public denunciations, real actions should be taken to force the Israelis to give it up.

U.S. Representative Paul McCloskey suggested that the congress should withdraw the planned \$2.2 billion U.S. aid to Israel unless it rescinds the annexation.

Nadav Safran, a Harvard professor, called the action "a serious mistake." In an article in today's NEW YORK TIMES, he wrote that this action undermined the "credibility" of Israel's "quest for peace" and could lead to a new war in the Middle East. "It is not enough that the United States reject Israel's action," he noted.

The CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR said editorially today that this illegal step "not only flagrantly violates international law. It can only confirm the fears of Syria and other Arab states that Israel is an expansionist power and the Zionism is dangerous." "Washington has criticised the Golan grab. But it is clear that mere public denunciations of Israeli actions will do little good."

An editorial in today's WASHINGTON POST refuted Israel's claim that Golan is part of the "historic land of Israel." "It is a stroke of sheer fanaticism to base an actual territorial claim on that fantasy," the editorial pointed out. "The administration must leave no doubt about its rejection of the Israeli action," it stressed.

CSO: 4000/37

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

ISRAEL SCORED AT UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY FOR ANNEXING GOLAN HEIGHTS

OW160923 Beijing XINHUA in English 0724 GMT 16 Dec 81

[Text] United Nations, 15 Dec (XINHUA)--Israel was strongly censured for its new measures to annex the occupied Golan Heights in violation of relevant United Nations resolutions when the UN General Assembly met this afternoon to continue its examination of the situation in the Middle East.

The representative of Algeria, Mohamed Bedjaoui, said that the Israeli decision had been taken at a time when the General Assembly was beginning its debate on the Middle East. It was the "height of Israeli arrogance and irresponsibility," he added.

The representative of Turkey, Coskun Kirca, said: "The decision of Israel to apply Israeli laws and administration in the Golan Heights is tantamount to annexation of this portion of Syrian territory under occupation. Such Israeli legislation and its implementation would consequently be in flagrant violation of all the relevant United Nations resolutions, in particular the Security Council resolutions and the fourth Geneva convention, as well as a total negation of the disengagement agreement of May 1974 between Syria and Israel."

Yemeni representative Muhsin A. al-'Ayni said that Israel's annexation of the Golan Heights "is a defiance of the whole world and a provocation against peace."

The representative of Djibouti, Saleh Haji Farah Dirir, regarded the time of this Israeli move as an insult to and defiance of the United Nations, especially at a time when it was weighed down with problems of the Middle East.

The representative of Norway, Ole Algard, said that his country deplored the decision by Israel to extend Israeli law, jurisdiction and administration to occupied Syrian territory in the Golan Heights. This action would seriously undermine the search for a comprehensive and lasting peace in the Middle East, he noted.

CSO: 4000/37

UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY URGES ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL FROM ARAB LANDS

OW150807 Beijing XINHUA in English 0716 GMT 15 Dec 81

[Text] United Nations, 14 Dec (XINHUA)--Demands for Israel's withdrawal from Palestine and other occupied Arab territories today dominated the second day of the United Nations General Assembly's discussions on the situation in the Middle East.

The representative of Egypt, Ahmad 'Ismat 'Abd al-Majid, said that Egypt believed that a just and durable peace must be based on the implementation of relevant United Nations resolutions. This means that the Palestinians must be able to exercise their inalienable right to return to their homeland and establish their own state.

Tunisian representative Salah Ladgham denounced Israel for its continued blockage of every effort towards a global settlement of the Middle East question. He stressed that a global settlement must take into account the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, the establishment of an independent state and the total withdrawal of Israel from all the occupied Arab territories.

The representative of the United Kingdom, Anthony Parsons, speaking for 10 member states of the European community, said they were prepared to participate within the framework of a comprehensive peaceful settlement, in a system of binding international guarantees. He pointed out that the Palestinian people must be placed in a position to exercise full their right to self-determination and Israel should put an end to its illegal policy on settlements, which was a grave obstacle to progress towards peace.

The representative of Yugoslavia, Miljan Komatina, warned that Israel must understand that its policy of force and expansion was not a lasting guarantee of its own security unless the Palestinian people, and other peoples, were enabled to exercise their inalienable rights to freedom and independence. Yugoslavia, he declared, will continue to support all efforts, concrete actions and measures for the elimination of obstacles in the way of a lasting, just and comprehensive solution to the problem.

The representative of Finland, Ilkka Pastinen, said that the situation in the Middle East continues to pose as the most persistent threat to international peace and security, and urged Israel to withdraw from the Arab territories occupied since 1967.

The representatives of the United Arab Emirates, Iran and other countries also condemned Israel's policy of aggression and expansion and called for a just and comprehensive settlement of the Middle East question.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

EGYPTIAN CABINET HITS ISRAELI ANNEXATION PLAN

OW171918 Beijing XINHUA in English 1841 GMT 17 Dec 81

[Text] Cairo, 17 Dec (XINHUA)--The Egyptian cabinet issued a statement today denouncing the Israeli annexation of the Golan Heights and charging the Israeli decision as constituting a menace to peace.

The statement said that the Israeli decision "does not pave the way for adequate circumstances encouraging the concerned parties to participate in establishing peace." It added that the decision impedes all efforts to make the Palestinians participate in negotiations of self-determination and shouldering their responsibility without any pressures or outside interference.

First Deputy Premier Ahmad Fu'ad Muhyi al-Din told reporters after the cabinet meeting this morning that the Israeli annexation of Golan would not affect its withdrawal from Sinai. "We are continuing the autonomy talks and the normalization of relations with Israel," he added.

Yesterday, President Mubarak held a series of important discussions with members of the National Security Council, the Political Bureau of the National Democratic Party and leaders of other political parties on the government drive for confronting the Israeli measure. The Egyptian drive included sending messages and envoys to U.S. President Ronald Reagan, Israeli Premier Menachem Begin, and heads of non-aligned countries, particularly Oman, Somalia and the Sudan.

After the meeting with President Mubarak, leader of the opposition Labour Party (Ibrahim Shukri), expressed support for the government drive. Leader of the Progressive Unionist Party (Khalid Mohieddin) also expressed support for the president and regarded the issue as a national one. The Socialist Liberal Party issued a statement today condemning the Israeli annexation.

The Arab Affairs, Foreign Relations and National Security Committee of the Shura Council in a statement denouncing Israel's annexation called upon the Arab countries to drop their differences and make joint efforts to serve their common national interests. The United States shoulders a special responsibility, it said.

CSO: 4000/37

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

EGYPT SUSPENDS AUTONOMY TALKS AFTER GOLAN DECISION

OW161624 Beijing XINHUA in English 1556 GMT 16 Nov 81

[Text] Cairo, 16 Dec (XINHUA)- The Egyptian delegation returned here today after suspending the autonomy talks in Israel in protest against its annexation of the Golan Heights.

Israeli Chief of the General Staff Rafael Eytan who was visiting Egypt abruptly ended his visit and was called back to Israel yesterday. It is learned that Israeli Defence Minister Ari'el Sharon sent an urgent message to Cairo explaining the action. It said that "the measure does not indicate the possibility of any Israeli military action on either the Syrian or Lebanese front."

Egyptian President Husni Mubarak told reporters yesterday that Egypt's statement on Israeli annexation of the Golan Heights was the strongest ever made by any of the Arab countries. However, he expressed the belief that the Israeli decision to annex the Golan Heights would not affect the Egyptian-Israeli relations.

Cairo newspapers devoted their editorials today to the Israeli aggressive decision. AL-AHRAM criticized Israeli Premier Begin's statement that the Golan Heights had been a Palestinian territory before it was cut off, saying that it "spells more of murderous political publicity."

AL-AKHBAR said that Israel was making use of the golden opportunity when the United States, the Soviets and Europe are preoccupied with the serious situation in Poland. It said "Begin was grossly mistaken" if he calculated that his decision would not meet any firm Arab stand.

CSO: 4000/37

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES SUPPORT UN NOMINATION

OW151450 Beijing XINHUA in English 1204 GMT 14 Dec 81

[Text] Beijing, 14 Dec (XINHUA)--Representatives of many Third World countries to the United Nations have expressed warm support for the nomination of Peruvian diplomat Javier Perez de Cuellar as secretary general of the United Nations, according to reports received here.

The Organization of African Unity, which had stood pat for election of Tanzanian Foreign Minister Salim Ahmad Salim as UN secretary general, announced that it would back the Peruvian candidate in the UN General Assembly. OAU Executive Secretary Oumarou Youssoufou, speaking at the UN headquarters, said, "We think we should give him all the support...we are grateful to those who support Africa and we respect the right to have an opinion of those who have voted against us."

Ecuador's ambassador to the United Nations, Miguel A. Albornoz, hailed Javier Perez de Cuellar's election as a historic triumph for the Third World. It "means a Latin American will be present in the direction of the world organization, in whose formation so many Latin American countries participated," he said.

Uruguay's UN Ambassador Jorge Azar Gomez said, "The presence of Perez de Cuellar in the highest post of the UN can open a new cycle in the United Nations."

A spokesman of the Tanzanian mission to the United Nations, said, "The selection of a secretary general from a developing country is the principle we have been fighting for all along." Salim "is gratified by the Security Council's recommendation to the General Assembly," he added.

Representatives of Mexico, Chile, Colombia and Brazil to the UN all expressed warm support for the Security Council's recommendation to the General Assembly.

CSO: 4000/37

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

36TH UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY SESSION RECESSES

OW190825 Beijing XINHUA in English 0736 GMT 19 Dec 81

[Text] United Nations, 18 Dec (XINHUA)--The 36th session of the General Assembly of the United Nations was suspended today following 3-month considerations of more than 130 items on the agenda.

This session has achieved considerable success in exerting more moral pressures on the two superpowers in bringing about just solutions to a number of major problems, due to the great efforts made by the Third World countries.

The international community once again expressed its will by adopting the resolutions on the questions of Kampuchea and Afghanistan to demand the withdrawal of the foreign aggressor troops and the restoration of the national rights of the peoples to self-determination. The increase of the votes for the two resolutions marked the total isolation and unpopularity of the Soviet Union and Vietnam on the international scene.

On questions of Namibia and Palestine, the assembly reaffirmed its support to the Namibian and Palestinian peoples in their struggle for national sovereignty and independence. South Africa and Israel were condemned and sanctions against them urged. The United States was also criticized for its biased approach towards them.

The appointment of Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar as the fifth UN secretary-general is another major victory for the Third World. It proves that the strength of the Third World is not to be ignored and the superpowers can no longer impose their will on the majority.

However, the North-South dialogue still lacks progress. No plan has been worked out to launch the global negotiations. The United States only agrees to preliminary talks on conditions that specialized agencies, such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, keep their decision-making power intact. In these two agencies, the United States alone possesses 23 percent of the voting power. But the deterioration of the world economic situation and further polarization of the North and the South require continuing efforts to seek a just solution. The assembly decided to keep the item of launching global negotiations open for further informal consultations until an agreement is reached.

CSO: 4000/37

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

INDIA'S GANDHI SEEKS BETTER RELATIONS WITH PAKISTAN

OW151920 Beijing XINHUA in English 1852 GMT 15 Dec 81

[Text] New Delhi, 15 Dec (XINHUA)--Prime Minister Mrs Indira Gandhi has reaffirmed India's full commitment to maintaining peace and better relations with Pakistan.

It has never made any sense for India and Pakistan to be in conflict with each other, she said when Pakistan's ambassador at large, Dr A. Brohi called on her yesterday.

According to the spokesman of the External Affairs Ministry today, the prime minister stressed that both India and Pakistan were very rightly absorbed in their development programs and that the burden of military expenditure was detrimental to that process.

If India and Pakistan could cooperate with each other, she went on, both countries would be so much more stronger and the two together could make a much greater impact on the international situation.

Dr Brohi came here to attend the conference of good will for South Asia. He said at the conference Sunday that Pakistan was not at all for war with India. The people and government of Pakistan realised that war did not achieve anything and they only desired to live in amity with India, he added.

Brohi said just before coming to India, he had met with President Mohammad Ziaul Haq who asked him to tell the people of India that he was not for war with India.

CSO: 4000/37

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTIONS CONDEMN APARTHEID IN S. AFRICA

OW180801 Beijing XINHUA in English 0701 GMT 18 Dec 81

[Text] United Nations, 17 Dec (XINHUA)--The United Nations General Assembly today adopted 16 resolutions declaring its commitment to total eradication of apartheid and establishment of a democratic society in South Africa, and proclaiming 1982 as the international year of mobilization for sanctions against the racist regime of South Africa.

One of the resolutions reaffirms the legitimacy of the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa and their national liberation movement by all available means, including armed struggle, for the seizure of power, the elimination of the apartheid regime and the right to self-determination.

It calls for comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the racist regime of South Africa and assistance for the South African people's legitimate struggle.

The resolution sternly condemns the apartheid regime of South Africa for its brutal repression against opponents of apartheid and freedom fighters, and its repeated acts of aggresssion, subversion and terrorism against independent African states.

It calls upon all states, particularly the United Kingdom, the United States, West Germany, France and Israel, to take urgent and effective measures to terminate all collaboration with South Africa in the political, diplomatic, economic, trade, military, nuclear and other fields.

It denounces the proclamation of "independence" of the Ciskei on 4 December 1981, and calls upon all states and organizations to refrain from recognition of or cooperation with the "independent" Bantustans.

CSO: 4000/37

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

DPRK REUNIFICATION GROUP HITS S. KOREA'S CHON

OW171331 Beijing XINHUA in English 1240 GMT 17 Dec 81

[Text] Pyongyang, 17 Dec (XINHUA)--The Committee for the Peaceful Reunification of the Fatherland yesterday denounced South Korean ruler Chon Tu-hwan's "theory of unification in the 2000s" as a slogan aimed at perpetuating the division of the country, according to KCNA.

In a statement released yesterday, the committee said that Chon Tu-hwan's "Democratic Justice Party" asserted in a recent document that the present era is an "era of confrontation and competition between the north and the south" and that unification of the country "should be realized in the 2000s" after a foundation has been laid for it.

This argument is, in fact, a refurbished version of the argument for "unification by prevailing over communism" and "unification by armed force," the committee noted. This laid bare the splittist intent of Chon Tu-hwan and his ilk, who disregard the unanimous desire of the Korean nation for reunification, it said.

"This is a foolish dream which can never come true," the committee said. "The question of our country's reunification can never be solved either by force or in such a way as to force one's will upon the other," it pointed out.

The Korean people both in the north and in the south as well as all the compatriots abroad will rally round the banner of reunification of the fatherland. They are resolved to smash the "two Koreas" plot engineered by the United States and the Chon Tu-hwan clique, and accomplish the historic cause of the country's reunification by establishing an independent Democratic Confederal Republic of Koryo.

CSO: 4000/37

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

ROSTOW ON USSR AIM TO SEPARATE EUROPE, U.S.

OW111926 Beijing XINHUA in English 1838 GMT 11 Dec 81

[Text] Geneva, 11 Dec (XINHUA)--"It has always been the major objective of the Soviet neo-strategic policy to separate Europe from the United States," says Eugene V. Rostow, director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, here today.

Speaking at a luncheon sponsored by the American International Club in Geneva on the topic of "perspectives on arms control," Rostow said that separating Europe from the United States, bringing Europe under the effective Soviet control and neutralizing Europe, "will enormously change the balance of power on a tremendous scale to the advantage of the Soviet Union and make the United States isolated in world affairs."

The speech was made at a time when the Soviet-American talks on medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe are being held in Geneva.

Rostow said the present Geneva talks cannot be separated from the SALT negotiations. He quoted a NATO communique issued recently in Rome as saying that the reduction of intermediate nuclear missiles can be considered only in the SALT setting.

He said that after the Second World War, the Soviet Union began to have a superior conventional force in Europe threatening the West. The Western strategy was to use the superior American nuclear forces to prevent or defeat a possible conventional or nuclear force attack in Europe by the Soviet Union. "But," he said, "that fundamental equation of the American nuclear superiority balancing the Soviet conventional superiority began to change in the 1970s." "The United States and Europe really have not reacted until now effectively as the Soviet Union continued to expand its nuclear arsenals," he added.

The Soviet deployment of intermediate-range nuclear missiles in Europe plays an important part in its strategy, he said. It is designed to change the political attitude of the West Europeans and paralyze the U.S. guarantee on the use of strategic weapons in Europe or the threat to use long-range nuclear weapons "so that the separation of Europe and America will be accomplished without pain and without blood," he said.

"The only way that we can move forward is to restore mutual and reciprocal respect of the rules of the UN charter," he stressed. "The Soviet Union has violated those rules on a massive scale in recent years in Afghanistan as well as in many other parts of the world."

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

SYRIAN ASSEMBLY ON ISRAELI ANNEXATION DECISION

OW171916 Beijing XINHUA in English 1833 GMT 17 Dec 81

[Text] Damascus, 17 Dec (XINHUA)--Syrian Deputy Premier and Foreign Minister 'Abd al-Halim Khaddam was reported today to have told a special session of the People's Assembly that Israel's annexation of the Golan Heights amounted to a declaration of war on Syria and calling off the ceasefire.

He said: "A peaceful settlement (in the Middle East) is not only unfeasible, but is a matter of serious doubt, in view of the expansionist and aggressive nature of the enemy."

He noted that Israel benefited from the present state of affairs and differences in the Arab world. It also took advantage of the current international situation and the worsening international relations, he added.

Khaddam continued by saying that President Hafiz al-Asad had instructed him last week to get in touch with a number of Arab leaders with a view to strengthening and unifying the Arab stands in the conflict with Israel.

In a telephone conversation yesterday, President al-Asad and Lebanese President Ilyas Sarkis assured each other of their support in dealing with Israeli aggression.

Al-Asad told Sarkis that the Syrian people will always stand by the Lebanese people in defense of their common cause and the cause of the Arab nation.

Sarkis said that Lebanon will spare no effort to join Syria in countering the Israeli aggression and will place all available means at Syria's disposal for the purpose.

CSO: 4000/37

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

U.S.-USSR NUCLEAR WEAPONS TALKS ADJOURN

OW180130 Beijing XINHUA in English 0115 GMT 18 Dec 81

[Text] Geneva, 17 Dec (XINHUA)--The American-Soviet talks on the reduction of medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe recessed here today until 12 January next year, it was announced at the end of a regular meeting today.

There has been a news blackout on the talks since they started on 30 November. Both sides have made much propaganda about the talks, but nothing substantive has been made public.

In the course of the talks, U.S. chief negotiator Paul N. Nitze flew to Brussels to brief the NATO allies. It was announced that the NATO allies unanimously supported the stand of the American delegation. They agreed that if the two superpowers fail to reach agreement before 1983, the West European allies will support, as agreed earlier, the deployment of Pershing-2 and cruise missiles in Western Europe to offset the Soviet SS-20 missiles already deployed in Eastern Europe. It is reported that Nitze will fly to Brussels again tomorrow to brief the NATO allies on the actual situation of the Geneva talks.

The Soviet Union had earlier rejected Reagan's four-point disarmament proposal and offered to reduce part of its medium-range nuclear missiles unilaterally if the United States decides to abandon its plan for deployment of Pershing-2 and cruise missiles. The Russian approach is obviously intended to maintain its nuclear superiority in Europe.

Observers here held that as the positions between the two superpowers are far apart, it will be extremely difficult to make any progress in the negotiations, and therefore, the Geneva talks will be long and arduous.

CSO: 4000/37

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

THAILAND TAKES MEASURES TO STRENGTHEN ITS DEFENSE

OW181722 Beijing XINHUA in English 1621 GMT 18 Dec 81

[Text] Bangkok, 18 Dec (XINHUA)--The Thai Government is taking a series of measures to strengthen its defense capability in order to guard its borders against constant incursion and bombardment made by eight divisions of Vietnamese troops deployed along the Thai-Kampuchean borders.

One measure was a decision by the Thai Government to allot 21.3 billion bahts (23 bahts equal one U.S. dollar) in its 1982 budget for defense expenditure, which represents a 13.3 percent increase from this year's defense budget. Meanwhile, the government and parliament approved bills proposed by the Defense Ministry to borrow 20 billion bahts from other countries in the future to buy modern weapons for the three armed force services.

In October the army began building four reserve divisions in Chonburi, Nakhon Ratchasima and Prachinburi Provinces, in addition to an anti-aircraft battalion in the Bangkok region. A mobil force equipped with rockets, light weapons and motor vehicles was established in the east border region to coordinate the frontier guards on patrol there.

The three services of the Thai armed forces have participated in many joint exercises this year for combat and anti-aircraft drills. Thailand, the United States and some countries of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) also held more than 10 joint landing and anti-craft exercises in the Gulf of Thailand.

While producing weapons on its own, Thailand also purchases advanced arms from the United States and other Western countries to improve the troops' level of equipment.

Thailand can now produce military arms and ammunition such as rockets, artillery, rocket-launchers, light-armoured vehicles, anti-aircraft weapons, light arms, ammunition and patrol boats.

Thailand has bought dozens of F-5 jet fighters and other transport planes from the United States this year.

Since early this year, Thailand has established more than 100 self-defense villages along its eastern border besides training and arming civil-defense volunteer teams there to help Thai troops maintain border security.

According to a plan designed by Thai military authorities, 4,000 self-defense villages are to be established along all the border areas of the country in 5 years.

Thai naval troops have conducted many training sessions for Thai fishermen, which trains them to form marine volunteer teams.

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

PAKISTAN PRESIDENT COMMENTS ON AFGHAN ISSUE

OW210745 Beijing XINHUA in English 0700 GMT 21 Dec 81

[Text] Islamabad, 20 Dec (XINHUA)--Pakistan President Mohammad Ziaul Haq said the Afghanistan issue should not be shelved because of the current situation in Poland and tension on the Golan Heights, according to APP.

In an airport interview on arrival at Lahore for an overnight stay there, the president said there was no doubt that the problem of Afghanistan had been "ageing" with the passage of time, but he did not expect that this issue would be relegated to the background. It would be resolved along with other major world problems.

In an interview published in the first issue of Islamabad's tri-lingual international monthly WORLD ISLAMIC TIMES here today, President Ziaul Haq said, "We, on our part, are prepared to implement any international guarantees linked to the complete withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan, according to an established timetable. It is for the Kabul authorities to make a positive response."

He added, "We earnestly hope that indirect talks through the intermediary of the UN secretary general would lead to a viable solution of the problem."

Asked if he thought Russia would pull out of Afghanistan, he said the Soviet leaders have stated on many occasions that they are prepared to withdraw their forces. One can only hope this withdrawal would take place in accordance with the UN and Islamic conference resolutions.

Referring to the deteriorating situation in security of this region, Ziaul Haq said Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan has added a new dimension to Pakistan's security concerns.

He said Pakistan wished to live in peace with its neighbours. "It does not interfere in the affairs of other countries and, by the same token, will not accept interference in its own affairs. To live in honour and dignity is the desire, and the right, of all self-respecting states," the president said.

CSO: 4000/37

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

CARRINGTON ON MIDEAST, POLISH SITUATIONS--London, 16 Dec (XINHUA)--British Foreign Secretary Lord Carrington today warned the Soviet Union of serious consequences if it intervened in Poland and tried to occupy the country. Speaking in a BBC television programme, Lord Carrington said: "I think the consequences, for example, of a Russian occupation of Poland, would have an effect on detente, on arms limitation talks, on the relations between East and West and on trade relations, which in themselves would be of a very great gravity." On the Middle East, Lord Carrington, a prime mover of the European initiative, said: "The Venice declaration has two principles that really matter. The first principle is that the Arabs should recognize the right of the state of Israel to live in security and in secure boundaries and the second principle is that the state of Israel should recognize the rights of the Palestinians." "Until such time as that is understood by both sides, you are never going to get peace in the Middle East," he added. The British foreign secretary said: "Nobody who knows anything about the Middle East will tell you that there is any other organisation or body of people who represents the Palestinians but the PLO." "If you don't like them they just won't go away. What you've got to do in politics is to recognize the realities of life," he said. [Text] [OW170417 Beijing XINHUA in English 0201 GMT 17 Dec 81]

POLAND INCREASES FOOD SUPPLIES--Beijing, 16 Dec (XINHUA)--The Economic Committee of the Council of Ministers of Poland adopted measures at a meeting yesterday to relieve shortage of food supplies for residents. The meeting decided to halt food export, allocate more food, especially flour and meat, to big industrial areas and send special teams to the provinces to supervise over food distribution. Information provided by ministers at the meeting indicates that the most factory workers are continuing their work, public transportation departments are running normally and the state power-generating system remains intact. [Text] [OW161542 Beijing XINHUA in English 1522 GMT 16 Dec 81]

YUGOSLAV TALKS WITH POLISH ENVOY--Belgrade, 14 Dec (XINHUA)--A Yugoslav leader said here today "the Polish people and government will find by themselves the most suitable way to solve peacefully their domestic problems and will contribute to the further development of socialism at home and to world security." Cvijetin Mijatovic, member of the presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, expressed this view while meeting Polish Ambassador Wiktor Kinecki, who was instructed by his government to inform the Yugoslav leaders of the latest developments in Poland, as well as the efforts by the Polish leaders for resolving the Polish problems. [Text] [OW151339 Beijing XINHUA in English 1212 GMT 15 Dec 81]

DPRK CONDEMNS ISRAELI ACTION--Pyongyang, 17 Dec (XINHUA)--A spokesman of the Korean Foreign Ministry issued a statement yesterday, strongly condemning the Israeli Knesset's decision to annex the Golan Heights. The statement said that Israel's capture of the Golan Heights by armed force constituted a grave violation of Syria's sovereignty and territorial integrity and a crude challenge to international law and the world public. The statement said that the government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea strongly condemns Israel's expansionism and firmly supports the Syrian people's struggle for national independence and state sovereignty. It also said that the Israeli aggressors should pull out of the Golan Heights and other Arab territories they have illegally occupied. The statement reiterated the Korean Government's determination to stand by the Syrian people in their struggle for the recovery of their usurped land. [Text] [OW170826 Beijing XINHUA in English 0722 GMT 17 Dec 81]

THATCHER HITS ISRAEL'S MOVE--London, 15 Dec (XINHUA)--British Prime Minister Mrs Thatcher today condemned the Israeli annexation of the Golan Heights as contrary to international law and, therefore, invalid in Britain's eyes. Speaking to a Jewish audience here this evening, Mrs Thatcher said the decision of the Israeli Government to annex the Golan Heights by replacing Syrian with Israeli law was "harmful to the search for peace" in the Middle East. For Israel to demand the right to live in peace and security meant that similar rights must be accorded to others, "for justice and truth know no boundaries," she pointed out. Real security could only come, she said, from a "lasting peace recognized to be just and defended because it is just--just to Israel, just to her neighbours and just to the Palestinians." "There is no greater challenge in international affairs than the need for peace in the Middle East," she stressed. [Text] [OW160255 Beijing XINHUA in English 0243 GMT 16 Dec 81]

HUNGARY VIEWS POLISH EVENTS--Budapest, 15 Dec (XINHUA)--The Hungarian Telegraph Agency was authorized to point out today in a communique that the Hungarian People's Republic looks upon the implementation of martial law in Poland by the Polish leadership as an internal affair of Poland. Hungarian newspaper reports quoting the communique said: "These measures will help the country break away from a grave situation, embark on a road of socialist development and achieve prosperity. The measures also will contribute to European stability by helping Poland to become a firmer member of the Warsaw Pact." The communique said the Polish people can expect "fraternal support and active assistance" from the Hungarian people. [Text] [OW151928 Beijing XINHUA in English 1859 GMT 15 Dec 81]

POLISH PARTIES SUPPORT MILITARY COMMISSION--Warsaw, 15 Dec (XINHUA)--The top leadership of the Polish United Peasants' Party and the Democratic Party met separately Monday to discuss the present situation and their role in it after the nation was placed under martial law. The meeting of the secretariat of the United Peasants' Party urged the party's local organizations and leadership to help carry out the decisions of the Military Council of National Salvation in the best interest of the nation and cement the party's alliance with the United Workers' Party and the Democratic Party. The party leadership believed that the present situation called upon the party to help bring about the necessary conditions for the country's earliest possible return to normal state and restoration of civil rights, strengthen the ties between the towns and the countryside and see to it that the administrative offices and social-economic institutions to function in

a correct manner. [Sentence as received] The meeting of the presidium of the Central Committee of the Democratic Party urged its membership to observe the decisions of the Military Council of National Salvation, cooperate with the other allied parties, and discharge their duties in a well-disciplined manner in this time of emergency. [Text] [OW151846 Beijing XINHUA in English 1834 GMT 15 Dec 81]

SPANISH CP OPPOSES TAKEOVER--Madrid, 14 Dec (XINHUA)--The secretariat of the Spanish Communist Party's Central Committee said in a statement published today that it opposes the military takeover of the Polish Government and "any external intervention" in the crisis. The statement said the crisis in Poland can be overcome only with the reconciliation of political forces in the country and with a guarantee of the trade unions' freedom. The secretariat will hold an executive committee meeting Wednesday to discuss the situation in Poland. [Text] [OW151854 Beijing XINHUA in English 1837 GMT 15 Dec 81]

FOREIGN MINISTERS EXPRESS CONCERN--London, 15 Dec (XINHUA)--Foreign ministers of the 10 European Economic Community (EEC) member states today expressed concern about the current situation in Poland and warned against any outside interference in Poland's internal affairs. The EEC foreign ministers released this statement today after a meeting which was held here mainly to discuss the community's internal problems. The statement said the foreign ministers called on "all signatory states of the Helsinki final act to refrain from any interference in the internal affairs of the Polish People's Republic." The Helsinki agreement was signed in 1975 and pledges that 35 nations, including the Soviet Union, are not to interfere in each other's internal affairs. The statement added that the ministers "expect Poland to solve its problems itself and without the use of force so that the process of reform and renewal can continue." EEC officials said the ministers decided not to suspend EEC food aid to Poland at the present time, but agreed to suspend negotiations on future financial assistance for Poland. [Text] [OW151910 Beijing XINHUA in English 1839 GMT 15 Dec 81]

UK DECLARES NONINTERVENTION POLICY--London, 14 Dec (XINHUA)--Britain will maintain a policy of "strict non-intervention" over Poland and expects all signatories of the Helsinki final act to do the same, declared Foreign Secretary Lord Carrington here this afternoon. In a statement made in the House of Lords, the foreign secretary said that the British Government was following developments in Poland "with the closest attention and with great concern." "We sincerely hope that the Polish Government and people will be able to resolve their problems without bloodshed by compromise and consensus," he stated. Denis Healey, deputy leader and foreign affairs spokesman of the opposition Labour Party told Parliament that the Labour Party shared the government's concern over the latest developments in Poland and supported its position. [Text] [OW150253 Beijing XINHUA in English 0242 GMT 15 Dec 81]

INDIA VIEWS POLISH EMERGENCY--New Delhi, 17 Dec (XINHUA)--India today described developments in Poland as "primarily the concern of its government and people." "We earnestly hope the present crisis will be overcome" in the shortest possible time, Indian external affairs minister, P.V. Rao, told Parliament today. In India's first reaction to the declaration of emergency in Poland, Rao said, "we view such developments from the standpoint of our commitment to the principle of non-interference." [Text] [OW171627 Beijing XINHUA in English 1612 GMT 17 Dec 81]

UNSC CONDEMNS ISRAELI ACTION--United Nations, 17 Dec (XINHUA)--The United Nations Security Council today adopted a resolution which declares that the Israeli decision to impose its laws, jurisdiction and administration on the occupied Syrian Golan Heights is null and void and without international legal effect. The resolution urges Israel to rescind its decision and reaffirms that the acquisition of territory by force is inadmissible. It says that all the provisions of the Geneva convention of 12 August 1949 relative to the protection of civilian persons in time of war continue to apply to the Syrian territory occupied by Israel since June 1967. The resolution requests the UN secretary-general to report to the Security Council on the implementation of this resolution within 2 weeks. In the event of non-compliance by Israel, the Security Council would meet urgently, and not later than 5 January 1982, to consider taking appropriate measures in accordance with the UN charter, the resolution says. [Text] [OW180835 Beijing XINHUA in English 0750 GMT 18 Dec 81]

TASS STATEMENT ASSESSES POLISH DEVELOPMENTS--Moscow, 14 Dec (XINHUA)--TASS in a statement here today said that "the enemies of socialism in Poland" had "created by their actions a direct threat to the fulfillment by Poland of its allied commitments under the Warsaw Treaty." This, it said, "directly affected the interests of security of all states, parties to this treaty." TASS went on to say that "the enemies of independent socialist Poland inside the country had the support of certain external circles in the West." It said: "A different interpretation of these events, made by certain circles in the West, can only be regarded as an attempt to interfere in affairs which lie within the competence of the Poles only." The Soviet leadership and all the Soviet people, it said, were closely following the events in Poland and around it. [Text] [OW142054 Beijing XINHUA in English 1845 GMT 14 Dec 81]

U.S. OFFICIALS ON U.S.-ISRAELI TIES--Washington, 20 Dec (XINHUA)--No sooner had the United States suspended the U.S.-Israeli agreement on strategic cooperation than it assured Israel of the "vital importance" of U.S. friendship. Secretary of State Alexander Haig said on a TV program here today Israel "has been, is today, and will remain a close friend of the United States." He said, "President Reagan recognizes, perhaps far more than any president in recent history, the vital importance of our obligations to the people of Israel and our guarantees to survival of that state." But he said his remarks today "should in no way be interpreted as a whitewash of the concern and disapproval that we felt and expressed on the recent annexation action." Israel's action "did constitute a threat to the peace process," Haig said. Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger today repeated his earlier charge that Israel's action of annexing the Golan Heights violated the United Nations Resolution 242. This action, he said, like its bombing of the nuclear reactor in Iraq last June, is "unilateral pre-emptive type of actions." While reaffirming the U.S.-Israel alliance is a "strong one, a permanent one," the secretary stressed, "We cannot secure the peace if we are viewed as only lined up on the side of one participant." [Text] [OW210910 Beijing XINHUA in English 0815 GMT 21 Dec 81]

U.S. OFFICIALS ON POLAND, USSR--Washington, 20 Dec (XINHUA)--U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig today said, "There's no question about Soviet cooperation and support for the activities going on in Poland today." He added that the Soviet Union must be held "responsible for the excesses of the situation." Appearing

on CBS-TV's "Face the Nation" program, Haig said the U.S. policy thus far "has been one to avoid excesses." He indicated that the United States would work to effect moderation, negotiation, and hopefully conciliation among the peoples and the parties in Poland. In a TV interview today, Defense Secretary Weinberger described the current activities in Poland as "designed to carry out the Soviet policy." The West should now be "very much more careful" than it has in the past about transferring technology and industrial skills to the Soviet Union, "because almost everything of that kind that is done is transformed by them into some kind of military advantage," he said. For the same reason, the secretary once again expressed the U.S. displeasure at the "pipeline for gas" deal between the Soviets and some West European countries. He noted the gas pipeline will give the Soviets an ability to improve considerably their military capability. [Text] [OW210912 Beijing XINHUA in English 0819 GMT 21 Dec 81]

UNGA RESOLUTION DEPLORES ISRAELI ACTION--United Nations, 17 Dec (XINHUA)--The UN General Assembly declared today that "Israel's decision to apply Israeli law to the occupied Syrian Arab Golan Heights is null and void and has no legal validity whatsoever." In a resolution adopted today, the assembly strongly deplored "the persistence of Israeli policy of annexation, which escalates tension in the region." It "demands that Israel, the occupying power, rescinds forthwith its decision and all administrative measures relating to it, which constitute a flagrant violation of all relevant principles of international law." It "calls upon all states, specialized agencies and other international institutions not to recognize that decision." It "requests the Security Council, in the event of Israel's failure to implement the present resolution," to impose sanctions against it. It also "requests the secretary-general to report to the General Assembly and the Security Council on the implementation of the present resolution." [Text] [OW180805 Beijing XINHUA in English 0756 GMT 18 Dec 81]

UNGA HITS ISRAELI OCCUPATION--United Nations, 17 Dec (XINHUA)--The General Assembly adopted a resolution today condemning Israel for its continued occupation of the Palestinian and Arab territories, including Jerusalem, and demanding its immediate, unconditional and total withdrawal from all these occupied territories. The assembly reaffirms "the question of Palestine is the core of the conflict in the Middle East and that no comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the region will be achieved without the full exercise by the Palestinian people of their inalienable national rights." It "reaffirms further that a just and comprehensive settlement of the situation in the Middle East cannot be achieved without the participation on an equal footing of all the parties to the conflict, including the Palestine Liberation Organization as the representative of the Palestinian people." The assembly strongly condemns Israel for its aggression against Lebanon and other Arab countries and its policy of annexation and practices in the occupied Arab territories. It notes that the strategic cooperation between the United States and Israel has adverse effects on the settlement of the Middle East question. [Text] [OW180827 Beijing XINHUA in English 0810 GMT 18 Dec 81]

CSO: 4000/37

PARTY AND STATE

THOROUGH CRITICISM OF LEFTIST HEBEI OFFICIAL UNDERTAKEN

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 28 Oct 81 pp 1, 3

[Report by staff reporters Xue Zhiping [5641 1807 1627] and Zhang Zhensheng [1728 2182 3932]: "Summing Up Experiences and Lessons In Order To Press Forward While Returning to Order From Disorder; Handan Prefecture Links Up With Practical Work and Carries Out Thoroughgoing Criticism of the Left"]

[Text] Municipalities, counties, and organs directly under prefectural jurisdiction in Handan Prefecture recently convened their respective meetings for the purpose of conscientiously conveying and implementing the spirit of the meeting on provincial party committee work. With the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of Our State" as their weapon, and basing themselves on the premise of improving their understanding, comrades who participated summed up the party's experiences and lessons since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee in eradicating leftist influence, returning to order from disorder, implementing given policies, and conducting economic work in a manner of seeking truth from facts, and strategically criticized and sorted out the leftist mistakes and influence of the former principal responsible person on the provincial party committee. They held that, in aspects such as criticizing the left, returning to order from disorder, and especially implementing the party's policies, rectifying cases of unjust, false, and erroneous litigation, readjusting leading groups, and eliminating negative results of the "Cultural Revolution," Handan Prefecture has done a great deal of work and has achieved definite results. Strides have also been made in economic construction. Because steps concerning emancipation of our thinking, relaxation in policy formulation, and implementation of the production responsibility system were taken earlier on the agricultural front, economic results on that front have been even more conspicuous. The comrades participating [at the meetings] all thoroughly realized that the party's line, principles, and policies since the Third Plenary Session of its 11th Party Central Committee have been entirely correct and have demonstrated in practice their great power. At the same time, they closely took the actual situation into consideration in criticizing the left and liquidating the influence on this prefecture of the serious mistakes of the former principal responsible person on the provincial party committee.

Politically, the former principal responsible person on the provincial party committee resorted to an expansion of class struggle. During the "Cultural Revolution," he looked upon himself as a "leftist" and carried out cruel struggles

against a large contingent of cadres (especially old cadres) and relentlessly attacked them. More seriously, he maintained a negative attitude toward the spirit of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee for a long time, continued to adhere to the erroneous principle of the "two whatevers," suppressed discussion of the criterion for testing truth, and obstructed the returning to order from disorder and the implementation of established policies. The participating comrades were of the opinion that, with respect to his mistakes, in one sense they resisted them but in another sense they substantiated them. For instance, with respect to the false case against the "Kuomintang" in Qiuxian County, the former principal responsible person on the provincial party committee insisted for a long time on his erroneous characterization and handling and continued to suppress the victimized masses and persecute veteran cadres. Although the prefectural party committee expressed some views on this, his measures were still carried out, so that the victims continued for a long time to suffer unvindicated injustices. With the support and influence of the former principal person on the provincial party committee, Handan Prefecture incessantly resorted to political movements and confused the two different categories of contradictions. In the matters concerning the popularization of the experience of the study class in Shakouji, Weixian County and the grasping of major cases and important cases, and concerning the solution of the powerholding problem among the "five categories of people" in the basic-level leading groups during the "In Agriculture, Learn From Dazhai" campaign, while some bad people were exposed with verifiable evidence [obtained] through investigation, not a few good comrades were mistakenly subjected to persecution, and in some of these instances, new cases of unjust, false, and erroneous litigation resulted.

Ideologically, the former principal responsible person on the provincial party committee commended himself as having been "always correct," exhibited arrogance and complacency, and shifted his shortcomings onto others. He always stressed that "the situation is fine" in Hebei, and claimed that what he was doing was "done by standing up to the 'gang of four,'" and that whoever attempted to say anything negative would be subject to his scrutiny or would cause him to refute the rumors. A teacher at a middle school in Guantao County wrote a letter to the Central Committee to reflect problems in work in Hebei. When [the principal responsible person] found out about this, he sent someone to the county to "channel each other's thoughts" and apply pressure. Under the influence of his mistaken behavior, both the prefectural and county party committees experienced problems concerning violations of the party's principle of seeking truth from facts. While associating itself with the efforts being made in 1977 by organs directly under the jurisdiction of the prefecture to carry out party rectification, work-style rectification, and establishment of experimental points, the prefectural party committee partially stressed its standing up to the "gang of four" and the aspects of its achievements alone. In pushing the so-called "three stresses and one criticism," it stressed only its good points but not its bad points. This resulted in the leadership's applauding its own merits and displaying its own achievements while covering up the serious danger of the "Cultural Revolution" and its serious consequences. With respect to this "experience" about a mistake, the former principal responsible person on the provincial committee had profuse words of praise, which were published in HEBEI RIBAO, with a long editorial note added; this created a very bad influence. (Editor's Note: It was wrong for this newspaper to publish this manuscript of his and to add that long editorial note.

We must absorb the lessons therefrom.) During the time the efforts at party rectification, workstyle rectification, and establishment of experimental points were being made, when some comrades made the statement "Are we to let monks from outside recite the sutras for us?" in response to the practice of having the rebels control the cadres, the former principal responsible person on the provincial party committee alleged that this was representative of localism and sectarianism, and that he would have to criticize them. Some responsible persons on the prefectural party committee immediately dispatched people to pursue the matter and, following the tune set by the former principal responsible person on the provincial party committee, raised it to the plane of principle and line, cast them in the role of "factions of cronies," and proceeded to criticize them at a general meeting. This injured some of the veteran cadres and damaged the unity among the ranks of the cadres. With respect to this mistake, in addition to earnestly summing up experiences and lessons and liquidating the influence of leftist ideas during the meetings, the prefectural party committee had its principal responsible comrade come forward to take the responsibility and apologize and express regrets to the victimized comrades. Under the influence of the former principal responsible person on the provincial party committee, Weixian County resorted to exaggerated reporting of its food-grain production for 3 consecutive years beginning in 1974. In 1976 alone, the amount exaggeratedly reported amounted to more than 120 million jin, leading to serious consequences. When leading comrades on the Central Committee issued their written instructions and proceeded to investigate and dispose of this question, the former principal responsible person on the provincial party committee again sought to do his best to cover it up and shield those responsible, and stubbornly insisted upon [rationalizing] his mistake. He said that even with this exaggerated reporting removed, Weixian County was still an advanced county in learning from Dazhai. Keeping this fact in mind, the Weixian County Party Committee criticized the mistake of the former principal responsible person on the provincial party committee, conscientiously summed up experiences and lessons, and made up its mind to further rectify its ideological line and revive and give scope to the party's fine traditions and workstyle.

Organizationally, the former principal responsible person on the provincial party committee resorted to treating people on the basis of "those who choose to be close to me are close to me" and "those who choose to stay at a distance from me are distant to me." He hired only those who were related to him. "Those who obey me" were promoted and hired to important posts, while "those who antagonize me" were excluded and attacked. Thus, old cadres were subject to exclusion, while leaders of the rebels were hired to important posts. Under his influence, similar problems cropped up in different degrees at all levels throughout the prefecture. From 1975 to 1977, among those transferred to important posts in relevant provincial departments from Handan Prefecture, no small number of them were leaders of the rebels. In 1975, Comrade Deng Xiaoping took charge of Central Committee work, the national situation took a turn for the better, and Handan became fairly stable. But when the former principal responsible person on the provincial party came to Handan to inspect its work, he somehow said: The fact that Handan is fairly stable has to do with representatives X X X and X X X and the like among you prefectural and municipal party committee members; they have truly played a very great role." Thus he gave the credit to the rebel leaders among the prefectural and municipal party committee members. During the period

of the "Cultural Revolution," some of the cadres selected from Handan Prefecture gained their capital through beating, smashing, and looting activities. Some of them proved incompetent in their jobs; they were precipitously promoted through the "three limitations" and "double assault" campaigns. There were also some who were promoted and hired to important posts because they resorted to making false statements and padded reporting.

Economically, the former principal responsible person on the provincial party committee violated objective laws in resorting to the groundless, unrealistic setting of high targets, extravagant planning, overestimation of production, excessive purchases, blind orders, and arbitrary uniformity. As Handan Prefecture implemented such leftist stuff of his, very great losses were brought to its work in industry, agriculture, capital construction, finance, and trade. The various aspects of the national economy suffered seriously because of disproportionate development. In particular, in criticizing "capitalism" during the "In Agriculture, Learn From Dazhai" campaign, it undercut many appropriate sideline undertakings of collectives and families of commune members, canceled trade in the free market, took back private lots of land, partially stressed taking food-grain production as the key, and thereby squeezed out cotton and other economic crops. In addition, it condoned "pushing the transition in poverty" and "eating from the common pot," leading to empty treasuries for the collectives and a poor life for the commune members. In linking up with reality and summing up the gaps existing in inspection, readjustment, combinations, institutional reform, implementation of the economic responsibility system and urban construction, the Handan Municipal Party Committee further realized how it would not be possible to underestimate the influence and danger brought about by the serious mistakes of the former principal responsible person on the provincial party committee, and how it must conscientiously proceed to liquidate them. Affected by leftist influence, the Wu'an and Shexian county party committees failed to emancipate their thinking sufficiently, and hence took only belated steps in promoting the production responsibility system. The result for them was the lesson that their agricultural production and development had fallen a great distance behind those of their brotherly counties. They therefore made up their minds to arouse themselves to catch up and meet their tasks head-on.

Through liquidating leftist ideas while keeping in mind the actual situation and criticizing the serious mistakes of the former principal responsible person on the provincial party committee, the comrades participating [in the meetings] summed up three lessons. One is that politically they must maintain consistency with the Party Central Committee. Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the prefectural, municipal, and county party committees have failed to do a good job of studying the spirit of the Third Plenary Session and of understanding it in a profound manner. They also have failed to launch serious discussions on the question of the criterion of truth, and have remained unclear as to the demarcation between right and wrong on certain major questions of principle. This has caused them to fail to do a good job in much of the work which they should have done very well. The second is that, ideologically, they must reduce blindness and increase self-consciousness. Because people have for a long time worked and lived under a leftist guiding ideology, they are often accustomed to looking at problems with "left-slanted eyes." In addition, they

have failed to study sufficiently the series of major policy decisions on the part of the Party Central Committee and to acquire a sufficient understanding of conditions below. Under the new circumstances, they have failed to distinguish leftist manifestations and resist them in time. The third is that, in terms of workstyle, they must proceed from the actual situation and adhere to seeking truth from facts; they cannot "rely only on the book" or "rely only on those above"; and, especially regarding certain major questions of principle, they must insist on principle.

On the basis of summing up such experiences and lessons, the municipalities, counties, and organs under direct prefectural jurisdiction in Handan Prefecture conscientiously analyzed the gaps existing in the liquidation of leftist ideological influence, the implementation of established policies, the readjustment of leading groups, the rectification of party workstyle, the improvement of social order and security, the building of a spiritual civilization, and economic work today. They were unanimously of the opinion that their criticism of the left is not yet thorough enough; that the task of returning to order from disorder with regard to the guiding ideology and practical work is still tremendous; that there is still a great deal of work to be done in implementing established policies, in rectifying unjust, false, and erroneous cases of litigation, and in readjusting the leading groups; that unhealthy practices are still serious among some cadres; that problems of social order and security remain salient; and that the speed of economic construction remains stagnant. On this basis, they studied and formulated corresponding measures and made up their minds to take these general meetings as a turning point, to unify their understanding, to enhance their unity, to assert their spirit, and to exert themselves at work, so as to cause a new situation to occur in the building of our socialist material civilization and spiritual civilization.

9255

CSO: 4005/319

PARTY AND STATE

SPIRITUAL, MATERIAL RELATIONS IN SOCIALIST SOCIETY STUDIED

Xian SHAANXI RIBAO in Chinese 5 Nov 81 p 3

[Article by Lu Lieying [4151 3525 5391]: "Building a High-Level Socialist Spiritual Civilization"]

[Text] A socialist country, since it has a highly developed material civilization, should also have a highly rich spiritual civilization. A socialist spiritual civilization is the spiritual manifestation of all the various contexts of the life of a socialist society and is the new stage in the development of human spiritual civilization. It embodies the superiority of the socialist system and manifests the progressive nature of communist ideology; once this kind of civilization is combined with our hundreds of millions of people, it will be able to become a tremendous force for remaking nature and promoting the progress of society; it is inestimably more valuable than the spiritual civilization of any age in the past. Therefore, building a high-level spiritual civilization is an important characteristic distinguishing socialist society from capitalist and other societies. Without a high-level spiritual civilization, one cannot build socialism.

First of all, building a highly socialist spiritual civilization is a necessary condition for promoting the consolidation and development of the socialist material base.

If we want to realize the four socialist modernizations and have modernized machinery and equipment in each and every production department of the armaments industry, agriculture, and the national economy, then we must have a great heightening of the scientific and cultural level of all of the people, enabling workers to master modern scientific techniques; only then will we be able to bring about a great increase in the labor productivity rate, guaranteeing the consolidation and development of the socialist material base.

In addition, people's ideological awareness also has an important influence on the development of the productive force. Advanced scientific techniques can only be brought into play with greater effect when they are mastered by people who are armed with the weapon of Marxism, who possess a lofty revolutionary ideology and a high level of socialist awareness. Revolutionary ideology has an extremely great mobilizing, encouraging, and inspiring effect on the people.

Stalin pointed out: "Great energy is only produced for great goals." (Complete Works of Stalin, Vol 1, p 16) Once the people have the lofty ideal of realizing communism, they will be able to conscientiously take up the great historical mission the age confers on them, not waver in the slightest in the face of any conditions of difficulty and hardship, and make a great effort in their struggle to build socialism and realize communism. On the contrary, if there is not a definite degree of spiritual civilization, then the material civilization of socialism will also definitely be harmed.

Second, only by building a high-level socialist spiritual civilization and speedily heightening the scientific and cultural level of all of the people can we enable the broad masses to participate directly in the management of the state and fully realize socialist democracy.

Socialism has given the people the right to be the masters of their own fate, but due to the limitations of the people's cultural level and degree of awareness, in actuality it is generally impossible to realize the direct management of the state by the people; it is only possible for the management of the state to be realized by levels among the people that are politically and culturally advanced. Due to the influence of the thinking of the exploiting classes, particularly the residual poison of feudalism, certain personnel involved in the work of the state are capable of giving rise to bureaucratism, and have changed from being the "servants of society" into being the "masters of society." Lenin pointed out: "The political power of the soviets, in principle, put into effect an incomparably high degree of proletarian democracy and provided for the whole world a standard for the putting into effect this kind of democracy, but this cultural backwardness of ours has depreciated the political power of the soviets and has also brought about a revival of the bureaucratic system." (Complete Works of Lenin, Vol 29, p 152) For this reason, if we want to realize a perfect socialist democracy, the most fundamental method, apart from the systematization and legalization of democracy, is that along with making a great effort to develop socialist economic construction, we must make a great effort to develop scientific and cultural education, speedily heighten the scientific and cultural level of all of the people, enable all of the broad masses to possess the knowledge and ability required for the task of managing the state, and realize the direct management of the state by the masses.

Third, only by building a high-level socialist spiritual civilization will we be able, once and for all, to eliminate classes and the distinctions between classes, and achieve communism.

In our socialist society, due to the fact that the level of development of the productive force is still not high enough, there still exist inequalities in the division of labor in society, a disparity between industry and agriculture, a disparity between city and countryside, and a disparity between mental work and physical work, and so there still exist classes and disparities among classes. If we want to eliminate these three kinds of disparities, we must not only greatly develop our productive force, but we must also greatly heighten the scientific and cultural level of all the people, especially that of the peasants; only then will we be able to remake their several-thousand-year-old heritage of small-producer psychology and habits, and enable them to become workers possessing a high level of socialist spiritual civilization.

Communist society is a society characterized by a highly developed productive force and a very great diversity of products produced by labor, and builders of communism should be thoroughly developed, new people. They not only possess a high level of political ideological awareness, but also have a high scientific, cultural and technical level, are able to engage in every kind of work, and are not limited by the one-sided concept of individual knowledge that was created by the division of labor in the old society. Lenin pointed out: "Only one who uses all the wealth of knowledge that has been created by the human race to enrich his own mind can become a communist." (Selected Works of Lenin, Vol 4, p 348) If there is not a high-level socialist spiritual civilization, then such a generation of new communist people cannot be produced.

Marx said: "The style of production of the material life conditions the entire course of the social, the political, and the spiritual life." (Selected Works of Marx and Engels, Vol 2, p 82) The production of material things is the basis for the subsistence and development of the human race; the existence of society and the material life of society have a decisive effect on the spiritual life. The building of spiritual civilization is inseparable from certain material conditions, the most basic of which is handling the economy well. However, spiritual civilization is definitely not merely a derivative or accessory of the material life. As a kind of ideology having relative independence, under certain conditions it can transform itself into a material civilization, and it has an important effect on the preservation and consolidation of the material base. This kind of interaction is not only manifested indirectly; through its significance in preserving and developing socialist production, it promotes the development of material production; moreover, it also manifests itself in direct ways, becoming a moral force influencing and stimulating people's production enthusiasm.

According to the basic principles of materialism, the material determines the spiritual. Therefore, some comrades are concerned about whether or not an economically backward country such as ours can build a high-level spiritual civilization.

Of course, the building of a socialist spiritual civilization doubtless requires certain material conditions. In the past, the clique of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" made extreme efforts to play up the "theory that spirit is the decisive factor"; exaggerated the countereffect of spirit; and were opposed to developing society's productive force, making the economy prosper, and improving the people's material and cultural lives. As a result, the national economy met with great, unprecedented damage; the socialist culture, education, and science quickly regressed; party practices and the prevailing customs of all of society were corrupted; and people's moral standards greatly declined. These facts in themselves clearly demonstrate the complete bankruptcy of this kind of idealism. However, in another respect, we cannot have a mechanical, one-sided understanding of the connection between material conditions and the building of spiritual civilization. Spiritual civilization is a system possessing a complex structure, and each and every one of its component parts has a different degree of dependence upon the material base. Spiritual civilization can be roughly divided into two main levels: the scientific/cultural, and the ideology/consciousness level. The intellectual aspect of spiritual civilization, the scientific, cultural, and educational level, directly reflects the degree of material civilization and is

directly determined by material conditions, while the ideological consciousness/moral content of spiritual civilization, including ideals, sentiments, beliefs, customs, habits, etc, apart from being directly determined by material conditions, more importantly go through the medium of their relationship to production, and develop a connection with material production. The nature of the production relations of society and the nature of the economic base have a decisive effect on the ideological and moral aspect of society. For this reason, there tend to exist certain inequalities between material civilization and spiritual civilization. Medieval Europe's level of economic development was doubtless higher than that of ancient Greece, but the spiritual civilization created by ancient Greece causes that of the Middle Ages to pale into insignificance. Modern history also has many examples of this kind; as Engels pointed out: "The countries that are backward economically are still able to play first fiddle in philosophy."

At present, our material production is not developed enough, and the level of the masses' material life is comparatively low, but due to our elimination of the system of exploitation of man by man, the proper conditions have been created for eradicating the phenomenon, which any exploitive system certainly possesses, of people being bent solely on profit, with each trying to outwit the other, deception, and cheating. Our people, on the basis of the system of public ownership of the means of production, share a common advantage, common ideals, common moral principles, and a common goal in their struggle, and all this has opened up a vast prospect for the formation and development of new moral features and a high-level spiritual civilization for our society. Moreover, after 30 years of effort, we have already set up an independent, comparatively integrated and comprehensive industrial system and national economic system that have a definite material and technical base. These material conditions not only make the building of a socialist spiritual civilization necessary, but at the same time they have provided advantageous conditions for such building. Therefore, if only we rouse ourselves to a revolutionary spirit, and overcome various disadvantageous factors, we will be able to combine the building of spiritual civilization and the building of material civilization into an organic whole.

9634

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PARTY AND STATE

CADRES ADVISED TO PRACTICE SELF-DISCIPLINE

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 31 Oct 81 p 1

[Article: "Uphold Starting With Oneself"]

[Text] A report by the Standing Committee of the Yuhang County party committee which upholds the notion of starting with oneself and taking the lead in correcting party style convincingly expresses the fact that if we strictly adhere to the "Guiding Principles for Inner-Party Political Life," then improper tendencies within the party will not be hard to correct and there is great hope for restoring and developing the excellent traditions of the party and for securing a basic turn for the better in the party style.

At present, while thoroughly implementing the spirit of the 6th Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee and the All-China Forum on Questions on the Ideological Front, one important task before the party organizations at every level is to overcome the weak and disorganized state of leadership and secure a basic turn for the better in the party style. If the party style is improper, it will affect the behavior of the people; if the people's behavior is not good, it will affect social order. And the key to securing a basic turn for the better in the social atmosphere and in social order lies in correcting the party style. Because of this, a prerequisite for changing the weak and disorganized state of leadership in these three areas is strict adherence to the "Guiding Principles" and rectification of the party style.

The "Guiding Principles" are regulations that every party member must obey. At present, some party member cadres violate the "Guiding Principles" and act in an improper manner, even going so far as to break the law and make a mockery of discipline, seriously harming the reputation of the party. When their behavior is exposed to the party organization and to the masses and they are criticized, they not only fail to correct their behavior, but they act as ferocious untouchable tigers who jump when touched and raise a howl and carry on. This is extremely wrong. The "Guiding Principles" stipulate that every party member must accept the supervision of the party and the masses and that everyone is equal before the law and before the rules of the party. We absolutely cannot allow within the party privileged party members who are not restrained by law and party discipline or who ride roughshod over the party organization. The "Guiding Principles" are the weapons with which we struggle against various improper tendencies and the standards for handling various breaches of discipline. The party organization at every level must boldly insure that every party member is aware of the regulations, forthrightly uphold principles and absolutely not allow the arrogant and defiant to trample at will on party rules and regulations.

We should be able to see that at present there are still many problems with the party style. The "Guiding Principles" stipulate that upholding the political and ideological lines of the party is the most basic condition of innerparty political life. But some comrades find the party's line and series of principles and policies since the 3d Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee incompatible and they fail to maintain political unanimity with the party Central Committee. The "Guiding Principles" stipulate that the leading cadres at every level are the servants of the people, having the duty only to earnestly serve the people without seeking special rights for themselves in politics and in life. But some comrades use the power of their position to violate policies and the system and to scheme in one way or another for the personal benefit of themselves and their relative, even to the point of being corrupt, taking bribes, breaking the law and violating discipline. If we do not carry out strict criticism of and struggle against these mistaken tendencies, then how can we maintain the youthful vitality of the party?

Criticism and self-criticism are the best weapons a communist party member has to bring about self-reform. Some comrades have mistakenly learned lessons from a period in the past when innerparty struggle went too far. In particular, they are confused about the line between correct, critical help and the attacks on individuals by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," and so they grow pale when the talk turns to criticism; they listen and ignore and simply tolerate the spread of improper styles and tendencies and mistaken ideological tides. This is an important manifestation of the weakness and disorganization of party leadership at present. We say that criticism and self-criticism is one of the three great workstyles of our party. For a long time now the party has used the weapon of criticism and self-criticism to strengthen unity, advance work, help comrades improve, and strengthen the party's ability to build itself up. However, this good tradition really suffered severe damage for a time in the past, especially during the "Great Cultural Revolution." We have truly learned a painful lesson, and therefore the "Guiding Principles" stipulate that we must strictly carry out the "three not-ism" of not fault finding, not recklessly applying labels, and not beating with sticks. The so-called "three nots" are a prohibition against arbitrarily exaggerating a person's mistakes, weaving them into a criminal act, and then following up with political and organizational attacks, and even persecution. They make clear that carrying out correct criticism and fault finding, recklessly applying labels and beating with sticks are two entirely different things. But no one should use "three not-ism" as an excuse to reject the critical help of others. Of course, criticism must be effective, must be initiated with a desire for unity, and must be convincing, based on objective facts, and appropriately combining rational and emotional appeals.

With regard to those who make mistakes, including those who make serious mistakes, we must continue to consider education to be the primary goal. This cannot be questioned. But education is not a cure-all and must be reinforced with discipline. Our party's discipline historically has been strict and clear, requiring that all party members become models of adherence to the laws of the state, to labor and work regulations, and to communist ethics. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" incited extreme individualism and anarchy, which damaged democracy as well as centralism, freedom as well as discipline. This anarchist poison has yet to be eliminated. At present, some party organizations express concern in many ways

about enforcing discipline, but are softhearted and lax in taking action; they are indulgent and compromising in regard to bad persons and wrong matters. The masses are very dissatisfied with this situation and criticize the discipline of these units as being "bean curd discipline." Such criticism should make us think deeply about such matters. We are the party in power and so must maintain the orderliness of our troops, march in step and maintain strict organizational discipline. In regard to those party members who violate the law and regulations and are not changed by repeated teaching, regardless of how high their position or how great their labor, we must bind them with discipline. Of course, enforcing discipline is a serious matter requiring that the facts be clear, the evidence be accurate, the procedures be thorough and the actions taken be appropriate.

Correcting improper tendencies is a great task of the entire party. If the party organizations at every level will attach a high degree of importance to this problem, regularly study and resolutely implement the "Guiding Principles," and persevere in their efforts, then the party style can certainly be basically changed for the better.

9705

CSO: 4005/232

PARTY AND STATE

REFRAIN FROM RELYING ON CONVENTIONAL PHRASES, CLICHES URGED

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 28 Oct 81 p 4

[Ideological Commentary by Jin Ou [6855 7743]: "Formula Expressions--How Loathsome!"]

[Text] Apart from "pretentious, boastful, and empty" words, "formula expressions" also constitute a great travesty.

In the case of holding meetings, when a meeting above lasts a few days, a meeting below also lasts a few days, and when several aspects are discussed above, several aspects are also discussed below: once the transmission is completed, the job is considered done. As for how tasks are going to be carried out and what problems are going to be solved, no one is very clear.

When words are uttered, they have all been uttered already in the press and written in documents. If someone should examine or inquire about them, every single one would have been based on something and none would be amiss. In the case of some words, the transmission would constitute a consistent system with little change. Even just to appraise them slightly, they are still oriented far more toward playing safe than toward innovation, so that hardly any new ideas can be found therein.

In the case of written articles, including written reportage, it is always said in the beginning: Under the stimulation of the spirit of such and such a meeting, under the correct leadership of the higher level, those concerned have conscientiously studied central documents and have improved their ideological perception.... One reads these expressions like chewing a thick-skinned dumpling, i.e., one is unable to reach its stuffing even after two or three bites.

In the case of conducting business, people gear their operations toward the facial expressions of those above: when the west wind blows, they lean to the east, and when the east wind blows, they lean to the west, thus wavering incessantly and rising and falling sharply.

Some writing groups draft "formula expressions," some people utter formula expressions on the platform, and other people pass on such formula expressions. Thus, many people are playing the game of uttering formula expressions, and as time goes on, these [expressions] simply become a method of thinking, a habitual force very

hard to change--just as in Chekov's novel "A Formula-Prone Man," which presents a man who carries an umbrella even on a sunny day because he is worried about unexpected storms.

Such formula expressions really make a lot of trouble for people. They make people doze off, read an article as if they were chewing wax, and collide with the masses when they conduct business. They make people "take food grains as the key link" while working in a prairie, and destroy trees to produce a plain while working in hilly areas. They make it impossible for people to plant cotton in cotton-producing regions or to plant peanuts in sandy soil.

Formula expressions are a reflection of one's habit of following the established and the conventional. They constitute a dogmatic method of thinking, and they are used as a protective talisman in the service of people's official posts. They are incompatible with the living soul of Mao Zedong Thought--seeking truth from facts. Although formula expressions all repeat Marxist-Leninist statements, they lack a sufficient Marxist-Leninist flavor.

There are numerous reasons why people utter formula expressions, but in the main there are two of them: One is fear. People fear making mistakes, fear being beaten with the stick, fear having their vulnerable points seized upon by others, and fear losing their official posts. The other reason is that their brains really contain nothing. As they have done no investigation or study, they are in touch neither with heaven nor with earth, so they can only utter other people's "second-hand words."

Mao Zedong Thought is vivid and lively and stresses most of all the seeking of truth from facts. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" distorted Mao Zedong Thought and strangled the living soul of Mao Zedong Thought. The "two whatevers" thereafter also constrained the people's minds and led people in a backward direction. The Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee proposed emancipating our thinking and seeking truth from facts. After the Third Session of the Fifth National People's Congress, the central authorities again suggested four points to the local authorities. These were: whatever the central authorities fail to think of, the local authorities may do on their part; whatever the central authorities fail to call upon the local authorities to do, if the local authorities recognize a need for it they can well proceed to do it; whatever suggestions by the central authorities fail to suit local conditions, the local authorities may deal with it with due expediency; and whatever is erroneously decided upon by the central authorities, the local authorities may contest. All of these things were meant to liberate people from various ideological constraints.

But ideological liberation is something we must work on in long-range terms. We still have many constraints, many formula expressions and useless expressions. There is ample necessity for us to use our own brains to think about problems, to utter our own words, and to dare to propose new issues. Just look: small children often ask adults a series of "why's"; their thinking is lively, and therefore they learn very fast. We also should have the spirit of seeking truth from facts by "asking questions about everything."

Promote investigation and study by penetrating deep into realities. If we wish to decide on some question by holding a meeting, we must first of all investigate that question, and not only we must investigate it ourselves but we must also mobilize everybody to investigate it. When conducting this investigation, we must really get in touch with the masses and not remain in our offices. Once the investigation is complete, we will have the words we wish to say.

We must solve practical problems. Utter fewer empty words and solve a few more practical problems. Since the central authorities have prescribed principles and policies for us, our task is to carry them out according to practical conditions, select the breakthrough points, grasp one or two key questions, and once having grasped them, never let them go. Once we have grasped them, we should pursue them to the very end.

We must work creatively and dare to blaze new paths. We must not proceed with a view to avoiding problems. We must not wait for others, rely on others, or beg from others by trying to enjoy ready fruits. In the case of pursuing socialist construction in particular, there are no whole sets of experience to refer to. Hence, emancipation of our thinking is especially needed, so that we can respect the experience supplied by our own practice and thereby blaze new paths for ourselves.

Promote "let a hundred flowers bloom." There has only been one typical situation which was no good. Today diverse types have surged forth and many roads to enrichment are available; hence our choices are now very broad. Don't hope to solve all problems by a single model.

It very often happens that we encounter detours in our new explorations. Don't seize upon someone's slight mistake and be afraid to let go; don't make people worry about one thing after another and become overcautious on minute details. We must encourage everyone to be brave enough to propose new suggestions, new ways of thinking. With respect to formula expressions, we must invariably resist them as we do "pretentious, boastful, and empty" words. We must refrain from uttering formula expressions, refrain from writing formula expressions, refrain from suppling battlefields for formula expressions, and put up a resilient struggle against formalistic formula expressions.

Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, many comrades have changed their work style and taken strides to go among the masses to carry out investigation and study and to bring to light new situations and new problems, and they have written substantial investigative reports and articles. They are promoters of new things, and pathfinders for the building of socialism. We should learn from them and emulate them!

9255

CSO: 4005/316

'IDEOLOGICAL LINE,' 'ORGANIZATIONAL LINE' EXPLAINED

Yinchuan NINGXIA RIBAO in Chinese 5 Nov 81 p 3

[Article by Zhao Tingyu [6392 1694 3768] of the Autonomous Region Party School: "What Is Meant by Ideological Line and Organizational Line?"]

[Text] I. What Is Ideological Line?

The so-called ideological line--namely, the line of cognition--is the concentrated reflection of the viewpoint, standpoint, and methods by which people observe and deal with various important questions. In his book "Materialism and Empirical Criticism," Lenin pointed out: There are two fundamentally antagonistic lines in philosophy: one is the materialist line of "proceeding from matter to sense and idea," and the other is the idealist line of "proceeding from idea and sense to matter." These two lines are reflected in real life--that is, in the activities of people's cognition and practice--as two antagonistic ideological lines.

Under the leadership of Comrade Mao Zedong, our party established the correct ideological line by way of the rectification at Yan'an, and that [line] is to seek truth from facts, proceed from the actual situation in everything, and link theory to reality. This correct ideological line is the basis for our party to formulate its political line and its various principles and policies; it is also the basis for cadres at various levels and the masses of people to correctly understand and implement the party's line, principles, and policies. Because idealism and metaphysics held sway during the "Cultural Revolution," this correct ideological line was destroyed, and that resulted in great disasters and losses to the party and state. After the smashing of the "gang of four," and especially since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, our party has made tireless efforts and struggles to restore this dialectical-materialistic ideological line. In 1977, Comrade Deng Xiaoping proposed that we must accurately and comprehensively understand the system of Mao Zedong Thought. In May 1978, the discussion on the question of the criterion of truth was launched, and the erroneous viewpoint of the "two whatevers" was criticized. The Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, held in 1978, determined the guiding principle of "emancipating our thinking, using our brains, seeking truth from facts, and uniting as one in looking forward to the future," revived anew our dialectical-materialistic ideological line, and thereby led the whole party again to the correct course of cognition and practice.

Whether or not the party's ideological line is correct is directly related to whether or not its political line is correct and to the success or failure of its cause. Facts prove that whenever we adhere to the correct ideological line, whenever our political line is also correct, our revolution and construction are also successful and our cause likewise prospers and develops. If the contrary prevails, our political line is also erroneous and the cause of our party suffers setbacks and failures.

II. What Is Organizational Line?

Organizational line is the generalization and concrete reflection of the direction and methods of the party's organizational principles and organizational work; included in it are the principles, direction, forms, and methods by which the party's organizations and cadres carry out their work. The party's organizational line is determined by its political line, and in turn it serves that political line and guarantees the realization of that political line. At the present stage, the party's organizational line is to enable the party's organizational work and cadre work to promote and ensure the realization of the four modernizations. In other words, it sees to it that the party's organizational work and cadre work evolve closely around the realization of the four modernizations as the center, and that they serve this center. For instance, we must solve at the right time the question of cadres, the question of organizational forms, and the question of leadership methods--questions whose solution is required by the four modernizations--and [we must] master at the right time the ideological conditions within as well as outside the party, set our ideological line straight, and unite as many people as possible to work together. We must adopt the necessary organizational measures, exclude various interferences and obstacles, select large contingents of practice-tested, massed-supported, and able-bodied fine elements, and strengthen the leading groups at various levels by transferring them there. We also must gradually reform the structure of the ranks of cadres and gradually make them knowledgeable, professional, and younger.

III. Relationship Between Ideological Line and Organizational Line

In order to ensure the smooth implementation of our four modernizations, we must earnestly strengthen and improve party leadership. And in order to strengthen and improve party leadership, we must strengthen and protect the party's central unity. As regards the party's central unity, first comes its ideological unity. Without ideological unity, there can be no real organizational unity. And ideological unity, in turn, depends on organizational unity for its protection and consolidation. Just as Lenin said: "The reason why the proletariat can and is bound to become an invincible force is because it is, according to the ideology shaped by Marxism, consolidated by the material unity of organization." Consequently, the ideological line is the foundation of the organizational line, and the organizational line is the guarantee and necessary condition for the implementation of the ideological line. The two are mutually supplementary and complementary, mutually influence and promote each other, and serve the political line together. Therefore, since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the Party Central Committee on the one hand has done its best to revive the party's ideological line and on the other hand has adopted a series of measures to strengthen and improve party leadership so as to enable the party's various enterprises to continue to achieve pleasing progress.

PARTY AND STATE

IDEOLOGICAL, POLITICAL EDUCATION WORK IN SCHOOLS STRESSED

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 15 Nov 81 p 1

[Report: "Conference on Ideological and Political Education Work in Schools Throughout the Province Stresses Overcoming the State of Laxity and Feebleness--Suggests Five Measures for Strengthening Ideological and Political Work in Schools"]

[Text] A conference on ideological and political education work in schools throughout the province was convened in Hangzhou from the 4th to the 12th of this month. Delegates participating in the conference passed a resolution to study the relevant party documents, conscientiously analyzed the influence of the trend toward bourgeois liberalization and other erroneous tendencies upon the schools and the laxity and feebleness reflected in the leadership, and reinforced their sense of responsibility and urgency in doing a good job of ideological and political work in the schools.

The conference proposed the following measures for doing a good job of ideological and political work in schools:

1. Earnestly strengthen the party's leadership over ideological and political work in the schools. Party committees and governments at various levels must set ideological and political work in the schools on their important agenda, and principal leading comrades must personally look into it. The propaganda departments and educational administration departments of provincial, prefectural, municipal, and county party committees must practice teamwork in order to grasp the classes on Marxism-Leninism and politics, the regular ideological and political education of the students, and the teachers' political study. Party committees and party branches at various levels and in various schools must all devote their main energies to doing a good job in their ideological and political work. Universities and middle schools may set up student leading groups for ideological and political work. Some universities may also establish on an experimental basis student work departments and moral education teaching and research offices.

2. Lay emphasis on the building of leading groups in the schools. Leaders at various levels and in various schools must conscientiously study relevant central documents, examine and overcome the state of laxity and feebleness in their ideological and political work, launch criticism and self-criticism, rectify the party's work style, and heighten the party's fighting stamina. At the same time,

they must adopt the approach of linking organizational examinations and mass recommendations in order to select for school leadership posts a contingent of middle-aged and young teachers, experts, and cadres who adhere to the four basic principles, are equipped with real talent and genuine knowledge and managerial capabilities, and are supported by the masses. University party committees must follow the provisions of the party constitution, conduct their party congresses well, and produce their leading members. Middle and elementary schools, too, must follow this spirit in strengthening the building of their party branches. Where conditions are present, presidents of the schools may implement a tenure system on an experimental basis.

3. Strengthen and reinforce the ranks in ideological and political work. Institutions of higher learning may select political work cadres from among their retained graduates in order to attach a political preceptor to every 120 students or so, and gradually to have the entire student population covered. Middle and elementary schools may select preceptors for [Communist Youth] Corps members and Pioneers from among graduates of intermediary teachers colleges. The responsibility for training university political work cadres and teachers of politics may be entrusted to one or two institutions, where the [trainees] should study subjects such as Marxist-Leninist theory, pedagogics, and psychology. The responsibility for training middle school and elementary school political work cadres and middle school teachers of politics should be ascribed to the prefectural, municipal, and county levels, respectively. Promotions and material rewards for school political work cadres and teachers of politics must be commensurate with those of other technical personnel; they should be given priority when documents are reviewed and reports are heard.

4. Put emphasis on party building work among teachers and university students. Expanding the party's force in schools is an important guarantee for getting ideological and political work done well. We must overcome leftist influence and change the situation wherein the proportion of party members among teachers and university students is too low. With respect to teachers joining the party, they should be treated in the same way as are workers, peasants, and cadres according to the party constitution, and no extra conditions can be allowed.

5. The whole society must look after the healthy growth of students. School education, family education, and social education must be coordinated and consistent. We must require the propaganda, cultural, publications, and physical education departments, and so forth, to create good literary and art works, publish good material for reading, compile more good movies, television series, and dramas, and launch additional beneficial cultural and recreational, sports, and scientific and technical activities for youths, children, and students. We must require industrial departments to actively support the schools in launching their labor education and provide places for the students to work.

9255

CSO: 4005/304

PARTY AND STATE

PARTY WORKSTYLE RECTIFICATION SUCCESSFUL IN SHENYANG

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 27 Nov 81 p 3

[Report: "Concentrating Energies on Solving Practical Problems; Shenyang Municipality's Rectification of Party Work Style Reaps Results"]

[Text] Reporter Li Yan [2621 1750] reports: Since the beginning of this year, the Shenyang Municipal Party Committee has concentrated its energies on firmly rectifying unhealthy trends within the party and has achieved definite results.

While summing up its work at the end of 1980, the Shenyang Municipal Party Committee deeply felt that if the party's work style is not rectified, social customs cannot be expected to change for the better. Hence, entering the year 1981, the committee put rectification of the party's work style on its important agenda. Led by the first secretary of the municipal party committee, it concentrated its main energy on rectifying party work style. In the beginning, as the year opened, the [committee] energetically countered the unhealthy practices in reception work of entertaining guests, presenting gifts, and extravagant dining and wining. In March and April, through letters and visits, the masses brought forth the matter of leading cadres above bureau level occupying excessive housing units; the [committee] thereby conscientiously examined and verified the complaints and caused 17 cadres who were evidently occupying excessive housing units to vacate their excessively occupied houses. Around the "1 May" festival, regulations against pomp and extravagance at weddings were formulated to require the municipal party committee to take the responsibility of carrying them out and party members to take the lead in implementing them. A circular was also passed along to commend good people and good things, while party members and cadres who violated the regulations were punished. At the end of July, directly in response to the practice of having commodities taken in "through the back door," the municipal party committee grasped the beer plant, the cigar plant, and the cigarette and candy factory--[units] about which the masses had expressed the most critical opinions--and decided, beginning on National Day, to distribute to the various households and units fixed quotas of beer, fine cigarettes, and reputable wines, whose supply has always been short. At the end of October, the municipal party committee again grasped three typical cases of violation of the law and disruption of discipline. These concerned Gai Diankui [5556 3013 7806], chief of the public finance bureau of Tiexi district, Yu Youzhi [0060 1807 2589], deputy section chief of the public security bureau in Shenhe district, and Han Liansheng [7281 6647 3932], housing construction chief of the transportation and construction bureau of Dongling

district. The [committee] launched discussions throughout the municipality in order to rectify the unhealthy trend of "everybody looking up to money."

In rectifying such unhealthy trends, the municipal party committee did its best to achieve results and refrained from just putting on a show. In order to halt the trend toward entertaining guests, presenting gifts, and dining and wining, the municipal party committee not only asked party committees at various levels to carry out self-criticism and clear their accounts, but also authorized the discipline inspection departments to grasp cases of return and repayment wherever economic consumption is involved.

While making party discipline strict, strengthening the legal system, and unhesitatingly dealing with bad people and bad things, the Shenyang Municipal Party Committee at the same time energetically commended good people and good things as well as good leading groups that dared to resist such unhealthy practices and singlemindedly devoted themselves to the four modernizations. It also asked leaders of the districts in the city and outskirts and various counties, as regards the orientation of their leading groups, rank and file, and management, to thoroughly rectify street-run and school-run factories and commune and production-brigade enterprises where problems are serious and practices are found unhealthy, so as to penetratingly carry on the municipality's work of "arresting unhealthy trends and establishing wholesome practices."

9255

CSO: 4005/304

PARTY AND STATE

CORRECT WORKSTYLE FOR CENTRAL ORGANS APPLAUDED

Organization Department Offers Model

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 3 Dec 81 pp 1, 8

[Report: "Exemplification by Organization Department of Central Committee Is Shown in Actual Conduct--Qiao Yimin and Wang Yuwen Write a Letter To Commend Central Organization Department for Sincerely Serving the People, Stressing Efficiency in Its Work, Treating People Sincerely as a United and Fighting Collective"]

[Text] Editorial Note: This letter of commendation, written by comrades Qiao Yimin [0829 3015 3046] and Wang Yuwen [3769 1937 2429], illustrates that it is entirely achievable when the Party Central Committee suggests that, in such aspects as asserting our spirit, converting our party workstyle, ameliorating social customs, and reviving our fine traditions, central organs of the party, government, and army undertake to serve as the nation's example. Conversion of our workstyle requires neither state investment nor other people's assistance; simply for us to show it in our actual conduct is sufficient. We must behave like the Organization Department of the Central Committee, where from the minister, the bureau heads, and the division chiefs to office working personnel, all start with themselves, make changes once changes are declared, wait for no one else, look to no one else, and carry out such changes. It will not do if we shout slogans to uphold the call issued by the Party Central Committee orally, but when the masses knock on our door, they continue to find that "the door is hard to enter, faces are difficult to look at, and matters are hard to take care of."

On 20 November, Qiao Yimin and Wang Yuwen, working personnel at the party history research office of the Sichuan Provincial Party Committee, wrote a letter to the party committee directly under the jurisdiction of the Central Committee to commend the fine workstyle of organs of the Organization Department of the Central Committee. The letter says: When we came to work in the Organization Department of the Central Committee, we felt as if we had returned home, as we promptly enjoyed the care and warmth of the party. They have really revived the party's

fine tradition and workstyle and thereby in our minds have turned the party's leading organs into organs which are really intimate, warm, render convenience to the people, and serve the people. Their working attitude and workstyle are examples for us to emulate and also guide us to do better work for the party. We hope at the same time that central organs and the nation's various organs and units all will learn from them so as to elevate our work a notch higher and propel our party's cause still further.

It was for the sake of gathering materials on party history in Sichuan and on the history of the revolutionary struggle of the old generation of revolutionaries that comrades Qiao Yimin and Wang Yuwen came to Beijing. In their contacts with certain central organs and organs at the municipal level in Beijing, they felt that, in responding to the call by the Central Committee for central organs to serve as examples to the whole nation, the Organization Department of the Central Committee has already demonstrated this in its actual conduct and has achieved fairly great results. The letter says that upon meeting the minister, bureau heads, division chiefs, office working personnel, and working personnel in the reception office, the kitchen, and at sanitation posts in the Organization Department of the Central Committee, our deepest feelings have to do with the following:

1. They sincerely serve the people and are easily accessible. From entering the reception office to reaching various departments to talk about our work, they all prove able to follow the party's principles and to understand the psychology of the personnel arriving at the department to work and to visit. When problems can be solved, they never attempt to shift them to others; when matters can be solved right away, they solve them immediately. Veteran Cadre Bureau head Comrade Zheng Boke [6774 0130 0344] has been able always to solve our problems in a timely manner and personally receive us to deal with them, whether we just telephone him or go to him for a talk.

2. They put a great deal of emphasis on efficiency in their work. When we held a forum on the history of the South China Bureau at the Organization Department of the Central Committee, we needed the central archives office to examine the telegrams of the time. According to established regulations, this was a matter that requires approval by leaders at department level. But when we put forward this question, Comrade Zheng Boke immediately asked us to write a report, which he personally took to Comrade Chen Yeping [7115 6851 5493] for approval. This process took no more than half an hour back and forth. Comrade Lin Jian [2651 1017] at the archives division also took the initiative to contact the central archives office for the inspection of relevant documents. What a precious revolutionary spirit and a highly responsible work attitude! If our central organs and business organs at various levels can all work with such an attitude, how can the people help feeling excited, inspired, and determined to do their best for the four modernizations!

3. They treat people in a sincere manner and are positive in helping people to solve their problems. Because we live at the guesthouse, our daily trips back and forth take a lot of time. When we put forward the question of wishing to have our meals at the Organization Department, Comrade Yue Furong [1471 5346 5554] immediately provided us with bowls, purchased meal tickets for us, and made arrangements for us to take our rest in the conference room. But when we

put forward similar minor questions at the United Front Work Department of the Central Committee, where we had gone to examine certain documents, we were immediately turned down by the receptionist comrades.

4. They constitute a united fighting collective. When we ate in the messhall of the Organization Department, we saw that relations between the working personnel in the kitchen and others were very harmonious. From the way in which working personnel at the reception office received visitors with smiles on their faces to the working attitude of the working personnel in the kitchen and the working attitudes of some comrades in the old cadres bureau, the archives division, and the general office with whom we were in daily contact, they really made a profound impression on us and left us with a beautiful memory.

Ministers Set Examples

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 3 Dec 81 p 8

[Commentary by Li Gengchen [2621 1649 6591]: "'Propel' and 'Bring Along'"]

[Text] "Central organs are going to serve as examples for the whole country." After this news spread far and wide, it aroused a great deal of reaction in society. According to our party's consistent rules and traditions, this should have been a matter of course, but because it was emphatically broached anew in response to conditions in our real life and a formal decision was made after solemn discussion by a party congress of organs directly under the jurisdiction of the Central Committee, it therefore still made people feel very excited and consider this as an instance of how the party has thus grasped an important link in our political life and thereby has revealed its utmost determination to reassert the revolutionary spirit of the proletariat. Hence, as long as they carry this out seriously, as their influence spreads to the working conditions in the whole country, trends within the party and even social customs as a whole are bound to experience a change in their outlook accordingly.

Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the party's whole series of major principles and policies have become well defined. But in terms of implementing them, our efforts have still not been strong enough. There of course have been many reasons for this, but an important one among them was that in our organs there still have existed various problems which are by no means compatible with their own glorious duties, and a larger one of these problems, in turn, was, just as the party congress of the organs under the direct jurisdiction of the Central Committee openly pointed out in several respects, they still have not played the exemplary role--the role of bringing others along--which is incumbent upon them.

Central organs are the leading parts of the party; they are the command center and the engine from which all of the party's major principles and policies are promulgated and promoted. The influence of the workstyle of the central organs upon the whole country is very great. We have always advocated having those above serve as examples for those below. It is an especially old tradition of our party for leaders to set such examples personally and to bring along leading organs to serve as examples for those below. This has been the case whether it was during the Jinggangshan period or the Yan'an period. Examples such as "Chairman Mao

shoulders food grains," "Zhu De's shoulder pole," "Vice Chairman Zhou weaves clothes," etc., etc., have engendered the revolutionary workstyle in the central organs and thereby brought about the result that, however difficult and dangerous our road to battle may be, and however cruel our environment may be, our ranks have always marched in step, remained united, and turned out to be victorious.

Today, we see comrades of the Central Committee Secretariat at Zhongnanhai work intensely day and night; we see leading Central Committee cadres like Hu Yaobang, Zhao Ziyang, and others endure the hardship of long journeys to go to various parts of the country to understand and master data at first hand and to guide construction of the four modernizations on the spot; we see the minister of posts and telecommunications go to a basic-level post office to line up and wait his turn to make a telephone call and send a telegram in order to discover and solve problems; also [we see] the minister of communications climb Tianshan mountain to inspect the highway, the minister of textile industry go deep down to areas where minority nationalities live in compact communities to understand the brotherly nationalities' clothing customs and demands, the minister of water conservancy and power fight day and night on the foremost front against floods and in rescue missions, and the vice minister of agriculture trudge long distances to hilly districts, visit villages, and contact households.... Now the central leading organs are following their example to bring others along; this is conspicuous evidence that our party's fine workstyle is being given full scope.

The party's various principles and policies naturally depend on the leaders and leading organs to promote and implement them, but they depend even more on the leaders and leading organs to set themselves individually as examples, to demonstrate exemplary conduct, and to bring along those below. If the leaders and leading organs at various levels throughout the country can change their workstyle just as their Central Committee counterparts have done in both propelling and bringing others along, then the development of our enterprises will be accelerated even faster.

9255

CSO: 4005/323

PARTY AND STATE

HEBEI CADRES TO GET REMEDIAL WORK ON CRITERION FOR TRUTH

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 24 Oct 81 p 1

[Report by Li Decun (2621 1795 1317): "Zhangjiakou Prefectural Party Committee Decides To Launch Makeup Lesson on Discussion of the Criterion of Truth--Point of Emphasis Placed on Leading Cadres Above Commune Level; Positive Education To Be Administered to the Masses Through the Convening of Forums and Briefing Sessions"]

[Text] On 12 October, the Zhangjiakou Prefectural Party Committee decided to launch throughout the prefecture a makeup lesson on the discussion of practice as the only criterion for testing truth.

The prefectural party committee pointed out that the discussion of practice as the only criterion for testing truth was launched in response to the erroneous policy of the "two whatevers." The Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee firmly criticized this erroneous policy, fully affirmed the necessity of comprehensively and accurately mastering the scientific system of Mao Zedong Thought, highly appraised the discussion of the question of the criterion for testing truth, defined the guiding principles of emancipating our thinking, using our brains, seeking truth from facts, and uniting as one in looking forward to the future, and thereby fundamentally restored the party's ideological line. The Third Plenary Session was a great turning point of profound and far-reaching historical significance since the founding of our state. Discussion of the question of the criterion for testing truth directly led to the ideological preparations for the Third Plenary Session. Since the Third Plenary Session, the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Plenary Sessions of the 11th Party Central Committee have been convened, but not until July this year did we perceive that the line, principles, and policies of the Third Plenary Session have never been fully implemented in our prefectures. It so happened that the prefectural party committee took a rather rash attitude toward this important meeting, which was convened at such a pivotal, historic turning point, and thus brought about serious consequences. Participants at the meeting all looked back at the goings-on of the past 2 years and 10 months, spotlighted a great many facts, summed up their positive and negative experiences, carried out full discussions, and overwhelmingly proved on the basis of those facts how the prefectural party committee had suffered an ideological petrification of its leadership, was too cautious even on minor details, was feeble and powerless, and passive at every turn, and how it even exhibited serious divisions on certain important principles and policies. It was neither united in its thinking nor consistent in its conduct. With respect to the subordinate levels, the prefectural party committee fell short of giving them strength politically, of supplying them with

relevant weapons ideologically, of providing them with support organizationally, or of pointing out to them the necessary methods while they took action. It thus failed to set a model by its own example. The reason why its leadership fell behind the changing situation was fundamentally because it failed basically to implement the spirit of the Third Plenary Session, and the key lay in its failure to launch discussions on the question of the criterion for testing truth among the party members, cadres, and masses in the prefecture, and its failure to criticize the "two whatevers." Because the principle of emancipating our thinking, using our brains, seeking truth from facts, and uniting as one in looking forward to the future, which was already defined by the Third Plenary Session did not get established in the thinking of the leadership of the prefectural party committee, it therefore was impossible for the latter to maintain consistency with the central authorities in politics, nor to return from disorder to order in ideology. The prefectural party committee was hence of the opinion that in order to do a good job of making up this lesson, it is entirely necessary to launch discussions throughout the prefecture on practice as the only criterion for testing truth.

In its decision, the prefectural party committee demanded: 1) We must broadly launch these discussions among the vast ranks of the party members, cadres, and masses in the prefecture, with emphasis on the leading cadres above the commune level, in order to carry out positive education among the masses through the convening of forums, briefing sessions, and various other forms. 2) Through such discussions of the question of criterion for testing truth, we must comprehensively and accurately master the scientific system of Mao Zedong Thought, eliminate the remnant poison of the "two whatevers," elevate the ideological level, political level, and policy level of the vast ranks of party members, cadres, and masses, improve the leadership level of the party committees at various levels, consciously implement the line, principles, and policies since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, and unite as one in looking forward to the future. We must sum up our experience, improve our thinking, reassert our spirit, and do a good job of production. 3) In order to achieve depth in launching this makeup lesson, the following documents are prescribed as necessary reading: "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC;"...Articles 19 and 31; part two of Comrade Ye Jianying's speech at the mass meeting celebrating the 30th anniversary of the founding of the PRC "A Decisive Battle to Determine the Future of the State;"... Comrade Deng Xiaoping's speech at the All-Army Political Work Conference, Question No 1: "A Talk on Seeking Truth from Facts;" and the special commentator's article in the 11 May 1978 issue of GUANGMING RIBAO, entitled "Practice Is the Only Criterion for Testing Truth." 4) Leading cadres must take the lead in studying, discussing, and propagating these documents. Responsible comrades of the prefectural party committee must first of all take the lead in guiding others and interpreting these documents. Leading cadres at all levels must guide others and lecture on these documents at every meeting. The prefecture, municipalities, and counties must all organize propagation corps to carry out widespread propaganda among the cadres and the masses. Let the propaganda department of the prefectural party committee draw up a list of major points for this propagation. When leading cadres at various levels lecture on the documents, they must take into close consideration the realities of work and the realities of prevailing thinking in order to enhance the results of such lectures. 5) In the training of cadres at party schools, the subject of practice being the only criterion for testing truth must be added, and efforts must be made to organize discussions well. The originally prescribed periods for such study may be relevantly prolonged. 6) In the education of party members, apart from lectures on the "Resolution"

and basic knowledge about the party, there should be lectures on the criterion of truth and on seeking truth from facts, in order to solve the questions concerning our ideological line. 7) In the case of in-service cadres, when they study the "Resolution" they must take the question of the criterion of truth as one of the key points of their study. 8) ZHANGJIAKOU RIBAO and wired broadcasts must select pertinent discussions on the question of the criterion for testing truth.

9255

CSO: 4005/266

PARTY AND STATE

RENEWED EMPHASIS ON PARTY WORK IN ONE COUNTY IN HEBEI

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 24 Oct 81 p 4

[Article by Zhang Chengxun [1728 2110 8113], Secretary of CCP Wu'an County Committee: "Justly and Boldly Rectify Party Workstyle"]

[Text] The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of Our State," passed by the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, points out: "The question of party workstyle for a party in power is a question of life and death for that party." "We must correctly apply the weapons of criticism and self-criticism to overcome various erroneous ideas that deviate from the party's correct principles...." As we look back at the realities of our effort to implement the "guiding principles" and rectify our party workstyle in this county during the past year and more, we have come to understand, in studying this passage in the "Resolution," that only by overcoming the state of laxity and feebleness can we reassert our spirit, justly and boldly take up the weapons of criticism and self-criticism, and do a good job of rectifying our party workstyle.

After the promulgation of the "guiding principles," the party workstyle in our county took a turn for the better. But compared to the early days after the founding of our state and the demands of the "guiding principles," our party's workstyle still has not taken a fundamental turn for the better. Some of our party members and cadres are still taking advantage of the office and power conferred upon them by the party and the people to secure private gains. They have made employment arrangements for their relatives and children, and they have appropriated gratis publicly owned cars, materials, and manpower to build their own houses and manage their private affairs. They have ignored the party's principles, established contacts and knocked on back doors, entertained guests and presented gifts, demanded gifts and accepted bribes, squandered state and collective property, and pursued enjoyments in personal life, etc., etc. No matter in what form such devious practices have taken place in the various departments, they have invariably damaged the image of the party, eroded the organic body of the party, weakened the fighting stamina of the party, and impinged upon the socialist enthusiasm of the vast ranks of the masses.

Why has party workstyle in our county not taken a fundamental turn for the better? After an analysis, the county party committee was of the opinion that there are a number of causes. Objectively, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" resorted to sabotage for 10 years, and their remnant poison has been profound and is still not cleansed even today. Subjectively, it has been mainly because the word fear still lingers in

the minds of leading members of the county party committee and some party organizations at the basic level. Hence their leadership has remained in a state of laxity and feebleness, and they have failed to take up the weapons of criticism and self-criticism and justly and boldly carry out a tireless struggle against all incorrect ideas and behavior. On the contrary, they have followed the motto "He who is wise always plays safe," preferred to say as little as possible, refrained from criticizing anyone even when he deserves to be criticized, feared a worsening of relations when launching criticism against people on the same level, feared retaliation when criticizing superiors, and feared consequences affecting stability and unity when criticizing subordinates. In cases where the individual persons concerned happen to be far from clean themselves, they also feared that if they were not careful they themselves might get burned, and so forth and so on. These tendencies have seriously obstructed the correct development of criticism and self-criticism and have created conditions that accommodate and spread devious practices.

In order to overcome the state of laxity and feebleness and rectify devious trends in the party ranks, it is necessary to begin with the leaders. Through meetings on living conditions, the standing committee of our county party committee has sought to expose and spotlight lax and feeble performances and the very problem of the existence of devious trends. It has also launched criticism and self-criticism and formulated "Tentative Regulations Governing the Rectification and Improvement of Party Workstyle by the Standing Committee of the County Party Committee" and "Regulations Governing the Rectification of Devious Practices." Comrades like Liu Jindong [0491 7855 2767], deputy secretary of the county party committee, and others usually pay the expenses as prescribed when they use vehicles for personal purposes. When they go to factories or the countryside to attend meetings or inspect operations, they refrain from seeking any privileges; they do not notify local personnel ahead of time, and they share the same food with the masses.

In July and December of last year and March and June of this year, the county party committee uniformly arranged four meetings on living conditions to ask party organizations at various levels and the vast ranks of party members to concentrate, through criticism and self-criticism, on solving the four devious practices which have aroused the most vehement reaction and proved the most influential among the masses of the county: appropriating public funds for entertainment, taking advantage of the collective while handling private affairs, going to and inviting others to dinner and accepting bribes, and failing to repay borrowed public funds for a long time. In terms of specific approaches, they were asked to refer to the "guiding principles," take into consideration ideological realities and job realities, set forth problems, discuss dangers, launch serious criticism and self-criticism, and actively solve the problems they each have on hand. There are relatively more factories and mining enterprises in our county; our commune and production brigade enterprises are also fairly developed. In the past, devious practices among some cadres, such as taking advantage of this particular situation by entertaining and presenting gifts, knocking at back doors, and appropriating state and collective properties, have been quite common, and some have even gotten to be very serious. In order to rectify such devious practices, leading comrades of the county party committee went deep down to the representative Yicheng Commune to help members of the commune party committee conduct self-criticism, expose and spotlight devious practices, and also carry out the measures of clearing accounts and returning public property. As a result, the seven principal leading members of the commune were made to make up the 500 yuan they had shortchanged

the collective in the past when they took over lumber products at an underestimated price, and also to repay the 1,800 yuan they had owed the collective for many years. With respect to this approach at the Yicheng Commune, the county party committee immediately proceeded to sum it up and spread it elsewhere. At the county's 43 communes and 44 units under its direct jurisdiction, meetings on living conditions were convened from one level to another. The initiative was taken to investigate relevant cases, institute conspicuous changes, distinguish right from wrong, and definitely see to it that surpluses were returned and shortages were repaid, so that each unit was able to clear its own accounts and eliminate bad effects. The county's 1,166 cadres took the initiative to uncover economic problems totaling more than 139,000 yuan in cash value. The cash returned and made up because of such accounting processes amounted to 112,000 yuan. Devious practices such as knocking at back doors and making employment arrangements for relatives and children were to a great extent halted.

The important thing about rectifying devious practices is to stress education, but we must also make our party discipline strict and clear. With respect to those comrades whose mistakes proved to be very serious and who have chosen not to examine their perceptions carefully, apart from criticism and education we have at the same time meted out organizational punishment. The county party committee has at different points selected different types of examples, such as extravagant entertainment by using public funds that led to serious waste, throwing the weight of one's office and power around by demanding collective goods and materials, appropriating collective vehicles and manpower gratis to build one's own house, taking advantage of the authority in one's hands to make employment arrangements for one's relatives and children, and engaging in corruption and the filching of public funds. In addition to handing out solemn punishment according to party discipline in such cases, it also issued 12 issues of a circular throughout the county.

In order to establish a healthy atmosphere and crack down on devious trends, [the county party committee] launched among basic-level party organizations and party members of the county in general the activity of selecting advanced party branches and fine party members in order to exalt in various realms those good party members who remain incorruptible and devoted to their public offices. Through means such as circulars, broadcasts, and articles contributed to newspapers, their exemplary stories were widely propagated. This served to create an advanced, glorious, and fine atmosphere. At the end of last year and prior to "1 July" this year, such selection activity was sponsored twice, resulting in the selection of 86 advanced party branches and 3,296 advanced communists.

9255

CSO: 4005/266

PARTY AND STATE

CULTURAL REVOLUTION FOUND DEVOID OF MERIT

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 27 Oct 81 p 3

[Commentary by Zhu Hongwen [2612 3163 2429]: "There Is Nothing of Merit in the "Cultural Revolution"]

[Text] In studying the "Resolution," some comrades pointed out that if anything can be looked at from two sides, why can't the "Cultural Revolution" be looked at from two sides? Some comrades say something like this: Although the "Cultural Revolution" brought catastrophe to the country and the people, there are, after all, some merits which should not be totally denied.

What are the merits?

According to one view, although the "Cultural Revolution" brought about great destruction, it smashed two counterrevolutionary groups led by Lin Biao and Jiang Qing. Isn't this an achievement? This view is obviously wrong. First, without the internal turmoil of the "Cultural Revolution," these two counterrevolutionary groups could not have existed. These two counterrevolutionary groups were eventually smashed by the party tradition and the socialist system, and by the older generation of proletariat revolutionaries and the broad masses, definitely not by the "Cultural Revolution" itself. Actually, the contrary was true; the fact that these two counterrevolutionary groups could stir up trouble and endanger the party and the people exactly explained the failure of the "Cultural Revolution."

According to another view, although the "Cultural Revolution" was wrong, the thought of Mao Zedong was widely popularized during the "Cultural Revolution" and people's ideological awareness was greatly enhanced. Isn't this an achievement? We cannot say that during the "Cultural Revolution" the thought of Mao Zedong was not popularized or people's ideological awareness was not enhanced. However, what was widely popularized was the mistaken thought of Mao Zedong's later years. People's mind was instilled with the leftist theory of "continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of proletariat" and the leftist thought of "using class struggle as a principle." Even the forgeries of Lin Biao and the Gang of Four were propagated as the thought of Mao Zedong. Formalism and pragmatism as expressed in "studying the quotations [of Mao Zedong]" and "reciting the epigrams" replaced Marxism and Leninism, distorted the thought of Mao Zedong and corrupted the party's style of study, thereby idealism and metaphysics became rife. Even

after the smashing of the Gang of Four, there were still people talking about the "two whatevers." How can we say that the "Cultural Revolution" has popularized the thought of Mao Zedong and raised people's awareness?

Another view asserts that the eradication of the "four olds" in the "Cultural Revolution" should not be denied. The real "four olds" of course should be eradicated. But the Cultural Revolution did not make clear what the "four olds" were. "Four olds" is a question of ideology. Ideological reform can be realized only through continuous development of productivity, long-term education of the spiritual civilization of the socialist construction and the improvement of people's material and spiritual life. During the "Cultural Revolution," our ancient culture and art, national legacies, places of historical interest and famous ruins, even advanced scientific technology from foreign countries suffered damage in the name of the so-called eradication of the "four olds." Such methods, which rejected science, national culture, and civilization, failed to eradicate the "four olds" which, on the contrary, became more rampant. But, the brilliant national culture of our fatherland suffered destruction.

Still another view holds that the "Cultural Revolution" was indeed wrong, but it did some good in attacking evil trends, bureaucratism and privileges. It is necessary to correct evil trends and bureaucratism, which are lingering diseases of the old society. Getting rid of the diseases depends on strengthening ideological education and supervision of the masses. It also depends on perfecting the institution which regulates the democratic life within and without the party and reforming the political and economic system of the party and the state. The solution will come under correct leadership and following orderly steps. By flogging the so-called "capitalist roaders" in the "Cultural Revolution" and engaging in the mass movement of the so-called "one class overthrowing another class," not only were the problems not solved, but also the positions of the enemy and ourselves were reversed. Good men were made to suffer and bad men availed themselves of the opportunity to make trouble. As proven by practice, evil trends not only remained uncorrected, but also tended to grow. As a result, social morality seriously suffered.

In sum, the "Cultural Revolution" was an internal turmoil which had been mistakenly launched by the leadership and used by counterrevolutionary groups and wrought havoc over the country and the people of all nationalities. It is not, and cannot be, in any sense a revolution or social progress. There is no merit whatever; it has to be totally negated. This is the verdict of history.

As to whether the "Cultural Revolution" can be looked at from two sides, it is necessary to understand first what is meant by dividing one into two. Dividing one into two is the summation of dialectical analysis made by comrade Mao Zedong in simple form. When we talk about dividing one into two, it means that everything has a contradiction and has both opposites and unity. Since the content and the forms of opposites and unity vary with different matters, how one is divided into two depends on the special nature of the things involved. It is incorrect to divide things indiscriminately into two halves--a good half and a bad half--without taking into consideration their formulation. The ten-year "Cultural Revolution" was the greatest internal turmoil since the establishment of the people's republic. In our party history, it was a serious mistake of leftist

extremism which had wide implications and lasted over a long period of time. To seek out "merits" and disregard the erroneous nature of the "Cultural Revolution," arbitrarily dividing one into two, is not only incompatible with reality but also at odds with dialectics, it also distorts the original meaning of one dividing into two.

Thus how should the ten years of the "Cultural Revolution" be looked at from two sides? We think that two main points of analysis are as follows: First, the dark side of the "Cultural Revolution" is the main part, although not without a bright side. The whole process of the "Cultural Revolution" is full of the struggles between the right and the wrong, the revolutionary and the counter-revolutionary. The broad party members, cadres, masses and older proletariat revolutionaries, standing by truth, fought heroically against the leftist mistakes and the counterrevolutionary cliques of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing. They displayed a high level of political consciousness and stubborn spirit. Precisely because of this kind of struggle, our party, the people's army, people's government and the nature of the entire society were not changed. During the "Cultural Revolution," there was a certain amount of progress and achievement in our economic construction, national defense, science and technology, and diplomatic fronts. Finally it is the party which led the people to smash the fiendish counterrevolutionary cliques of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing and correct its leftist mistakes. All these emphatically argue that our party is a great party, our people are a great people, and our socialist system has durable vital force. Second, the "Cultural Revolution" was an episode of great destruction. However, bad things could turn to be good things under a certain condition. This condition is that we have an experienced party with excellent leadership which uses Marxism-Leninism and the thought of Mao Zedong to sum up experiences and lessons. Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, our party within a short time has summed up the overall historical lessons of the past 32 years since the founding of the people's republic, especially the lessons of the "Cultural Revolution," to signal the correct road for our construction of modernization. We firmly believe that under the correct leadership of the party Central Committee, beneficial lessons can be absorbed from the failure of the "Cultural Revolution" so that we can further strengthen and improve party leadership and find out a Chinese-style road for modernization.

9507

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RESPONSE TO YE'S PROPOSAL FOR REUNIFICATION FAVORABLE

World Press Opinion

Beijing BANYUETAN [SEMI-MONTHLY TALKS] in Chinese No 20, 25 Oct 81 pp 3-4

[Article by Liu Maojian [0491 5399 0494]: "World Opinion on the Talk of Ye Jianying"]

[Text] After issuing the nine-point policy concerning the return of Taiwan to the motherland and the achievement of peaceful reunification, Chairman Ye Jianying received much international attention and favorable comment.

Major Subject Provokes Widespread Comment

Four minutes into the beginning of the broadcast of Chairman Ye's talk at mid-day on 30 September, foreign news agencies immediately began to relay the broadcast. Some repeatedly issued bulletins or extras, but for the most part they reported it in detail or presented the full text. In order to carry this news in that day's evening editions, the major Tokyo newspapers postponed the deadline for submitting copy and gave Ye Jianying's talk prominent coverage in the front-page headlines. The national and military broadcasting stations in Greece broadcast this news beginning at noon on that day, and it continued to be considered major news until 1 October, with rebroadcasts at hourly intervals. The nine-point policy proposed by Chairman Ye became a major topic of international discussion and evoked great interest and an enthusiastic response among the various social strata in a number of countries.

Significance of Such Humanitarianism and Justice Is Far-Reaching

World opinion generally recognized that the nine-point proposal is the "first formal comprehensive proposal" put forth by the highest level in the Chinese Government in the past 32 years. It is a "brilliant declaration of humanitarianism and justice" (GUARDIAN, UK). It is "the most broadminded," "fair and reasonable," and "comprehensive peace proposal" (WALL STREET JOURNAL, U.S.) "It displays the openminded tolerance (of the CCP)" and "it liberally sets forth very generous conditions." Public opinion in Japan considered the nine-point proposal to be "a program for achieving peaceful reunification." "It paves the way for peaceful reunification"; "it has great and far-reaching significance"; and "it has aroused worldwide attention." Public opinion in many nations considered the nine-point proposal to be of benefit to peace in Asia and the world.

Careful Consideration and a Resolute Policy Decision

Public opinion in various countries considered that presenting the nine-point proposal was a "decisive step adopted after careful consideration" (Komeito Chairman Takeiri and House of Councilors leader Jokunaga). It demonstrated an "extremely daring" and "very moderate and tolerant" spirit (JAPAN FOREIGN AFFAIRS OBSERVER). "This broadmindedness and flexibility is unmatched in recent world history. It is built on the foundation of a program of careful strategic consideration and a realistic analysis of the Taiwan situation" (Yugoslav GOVERNMENT REPORT, and TANJUG).

A Sincere Attitude and Good Timing

World opinion considered that this "generous and lenient" nine-point proposal clearly indicates that the attitude of the CCP and government is earnest, sincere, and moderate: "They sincerely wish to reach an agreement: (STRAITS-TIMES, Singapore). Some said that in presenting the nine-point proposal they have "grasped the heart of the problem with good timing" and with great popular support. They say that China "chose a very fitting and opportune occasion" by putting forward the nine-point proposal after having launched science satellites and holding military maneuvers to "demonstrate China's might and its state of development to the world," and on the eve of the 32nd anniversary of the founding of the country and the 70th anniversary of the revolution of 1911 (Japanese broadcast stations and newspapers). Takeiri of the Komeito of Japan and others "hoped that the proposal would be realized" and expressed their "willingness to make an effort on its behalf."

Many commented that they hoped the Reagan government would exercise greater restraint in the matter of selling weapons to Taiwan. They hoped that the Reagan government would not impede the progress of China's peaceful reunification.

Nine-Point Proposal Appeals Greatly to People of Taiwan

Foreign opinion reported that the nine-point proposal "appeals greatly to the people of Taiwan" (STRAITS-TIMES, Singapore); "it will have the effect of moving the hearts of the people of Taiwan" (TOKYO SHIMBUN, Japan); "it will have an increasingly profound impact within Taiwan" (Shimodaira Shoichi, vice chairman of the JSP). The resident Taipei correspondent for the ASAHI SHIMBUN of Japan reported that in Taiwan the people "have just launched a lively discussion" of the nine-point proposal.

In their commentaries many national newspapers advised the Taiwan authorities not to be incorrigibly obstinate, saying that the nine-point proposal "is not just a propaganda gimmick" (THE TIMES, UK). Taiwan authorities "have quite a few reasons for earnestly considering this new proposal" (WALL STREET JOURNAL, U.S.). "Negotiating with Beijing would certainly not harm the people of Taiwan" (CANBERRA TIMES, Australia). On the other hand, adopting "a rigid attitude will not raise the prestige (of the Taiwan authorities), but will inevitably demonstrate before world opinion the irrational extent of their stubbornness."

Overseas Chinese Reaction

Beijing BANYUETAN [SEMI-MONTHLY TALKS] in Chinese No 20, 25 Oct 81 pp 5-6

[Article by Wang Can [3769 0639]: "The Voice of Overseas Chinese and Compatriots in Hong Kong and Macao"]

[Text] Following the publication of Chairman Ye Jianying's talk on 30 September, our countrymen abroad and our compatriots in Hong Kong and Macao reacted strongly and with great emotion. They were wildly enthusiastic about the early attainment of the peaceful reunification of our country.

The newspapers and radio and television stations controlled by our countrymen abroad and our compatriots in Hong Kong and Macao quickly publicized this inspirational speech in the form of an extra edition or as a special program. The extent of the various newspapers' rapid, comprehensive, and critical coverage of this talk concerning national reunification, the fate of the nation, and future generations has rarely been seen before.

The distant overseas Chinese all published the talk while voicing their support of the aspirations of Ye Jianying's talk. Mei Ziqiang [2734 1311 1730], president of the New York Federation of Overseas Chinese, said: "An eagerly awaited and much-hoped-for new plan for the reunification of our country has been announced by Chairman Ye Jianying. This is the common wish of China's 1 billion people, including our compatriots in Taiwan. It is also an urgent demand of the vast numbers of overseas Chinese." He ardently hoped that "the Taiwan authorities will calmly face up to reality, meet the peace talks head on, and strive to make a contribution to the great cause of the reunification of our country, thereby becoming national heroes." Huang Wenqin [7806 2429 2953], vice president of the Tokyo General Association of Overseas Chinese, said: "The policy expounded by Chairman Ye Jianying for the return of Taiwan to the motherland and for the achievement of peaceful reunification has won the immense support of the people and is welcomed by overseas Chinese. Once our compatriots in Taiwan become aware of it, they too will be moved. The KMT should accept these proposals and immediately start negotiations with the CCP to bring about bilateral cooperation as soon as possible. This is the common wish of all the people." A leading comrade of the Overseas Chinese Organization in England who is over 70 years old said: "For the sake of the security and benefit of the entire Chinese nation, only if we are united as one can we better resist foreign aggression. Even foreign lands can have a close interdependence, so why not one nation of fraternal neighbors? Only with a political party that fights for the unity of nationalities and the reunification of the country will we go down in the annals of history. Otherwise we will stand condemned by the people."

On the eve of National Day, as an overseas Chinese residing in Yokohama, Japan, was speaking at a banquet about the glorious prospect of achieving peaceful reunification, he went wild with joy. A young overseas Chinese woman could not help but break out singing, "Our Taiwan compatriots, our blood brothers"--a very moving song. A 73-year-old overseas Chinese, Xie Tian [6200 3929], said with tears in his eyes: "Fellow countrymen abroad have longed for the day when our country can be united as one."

At the National Day celebration held in Xinguang Theater in Hong Kong, when our fellow countrymen listened to Ye Jianying's talk being read, they responded with a continuous round of warm applause. Fei Yimin [6316 1744 3046], editor of the Hong Kong DAGONGBAO; Yang Guang [2799 0342], president of the Hong Kong Jiulong Federation of Trade Unions; Wang Kuancheng [3769 1401 6134], president of the Hong Kong China General Chamber of Commerce; Vice Presidents Tang Bingda [3282 4426 6671] and He Shizhu [0149 0013 2691]; and public figures from various spheres: Tang Xiangqian [0781 5046 0578], An Zijie [1344 1311 3954], Ma Yuxiang [7456 5940 4382], Zhong Shiyuan [6988 1102 0337], Xia Meng [1115 1125], Wu Kangmin [0702 1660 3046], Shi Hui [4258 1979], Mu Run Sun [3664 3387 1327], Zhuang Zhongwen [8369 6850 2429], Wang Bide [3076 1764 1779], Ren Zhiyuan [0117 1807 6678], Lin Shide [2651 0013 1795], Liu Qianshi [0491 0578 4258], Li Mingze [0448 6900 3419], Chen Jun Bao [7115 0689 5508], Chen Pishi [7115 0012 1102], Cai Shaochang [5591 4801 2490] and Liu Jiaqu [0491 1367 7517] all published the speech and discussed the major significance of achieving peaceful reunification. Wang Kuancheng, president of the Hong Kong China General Chamber of Commerce, said: "This broadminded and fair program proposed by Chairman Ye Jianying fully expresses the respect of the central government toward the Taiwan authorities and the sincerity and good faith of the central government in striving for the great cause of peaceful reunification. We hope that the Taiwan authorities will give it careful consideration, with emphasis on justice for nationalities, and will offer a prompt and positive response." Yang Guang, the president of the Hong Kong Jiulong Federation of Trade Unions, said: "The nine-point policy is fair and reasonable. We hope the Taiwan authorities will proceed from the humanitarianism of reunification and prosperity and give a response. As Hong Kong workers, we are willing to do what we can for the reunification and prosperity of our country." In Macao, the well-known public figure He Xian [0149 6343] said in his speech at the National Day banquet held by academic circles in Macao: "We hope the Taiwan authorities will seriously consider doing what is right for the nationalities, dropping former grudges and joining hands with the CCP to jointly achieve the great undertaking of uniting the country."

In spite of the fact that the commentaries of the overseas Chinese and Hong Kong newspapers used different wording and forms, their opinions were identical. They pointed out that the general trend and popular feeling were for the peaceful reunification of China and the rapid termination of the separation of Taiwan from the Mainland. This trend cannot be stopped by anyone. An editorial in the Hong Kong MINGBAO said: "Taiwan is part of China; they belong together as one nation and must ultimately be united. This is the common conviction of the Chinese people, and is also their common wish." An editorial in Hong Kong's ZHONGBAO said: "We recognize that the country must be reunified and that the people must be reunited. This is the general trend of events and the will of the people. It is an irresistible historical trend. In attempting to view Ye Jianying's proposal for peace talks from Taiwan's standpoint, the majority of the younger generation endorse national reunification. As for the older generation, particularly those who left the mainland 32 years ago, their suffering will be short-lived. Who hasn't been separated from flesh and blood? They wish to return or at least be able to have mail and air service so that relatives can correspond or hold reunions. Man Gu [2581 6253] commented. in ZHONGHUA RIBAO: "The peaceful unification of China was the last wish of Mr Sun Yat-sen. It is the common demand of the 100 million people throughout

China and all overseas Chinese. Only a small minority who have ulterior motives are unwilling to see the achievement of this great ideal. However, they have no way to block this inevitable trend."

Points of the Proposal

Beijing BANYUETAN [SEMI-MONTHLY TALKS] in Chinese No 20, 25 Oct 81 pp 7-9

[Questions and Answers: "A Popular and Relevant Policy Decision"]

[Text] Q: What are the basic general and specific policies of our government regarding resolution of the Taiwan problem?

A: Since ancient times, Taiwan has been an inseparable part of China. The people of Taiwan are our own flesh and blood. Our government's basic policy toward solving the Taiwan problem is that Taiwan must return to the motherland to accomplish the great undertaking of reunification. We absolutely oppose "two Chinas," "one China, one Taiwan," or an "independent Taiwan." The "Report on Our Taiwan Compatriots" published on New Year's Day 1979 by the Standing Committee of the NPC pointed out: "Since 1949, when Taiwan unfortunately split from the mainland, there has been no correspondence between us. Contacts have been cut off. Our country has been unable to be reunified, relatives have been unable to reunite, and the nationalities, the state, and the people have suffered tremendously." "If we do not put an end to this present state of disunity as quickly as possible and speedily achieve reunification, how can we seek comfort in our various ancestors? How can we rationalize it to our descendants? Everybody feels the same way about this. We are all descendants of Huangdi. Who wants to stand condemned through the ages?"

Not long after the "Report on Our Taiwan Compatriots" was published, we proposed that mail and air service and commerce, as well as economic, scientific, and cultural exchanges, be initiated between the mainland and Taiwan as soon as possible.

This year, on the eve of National Day, Chairman Ye Jianying published his talk and clarified the general and specific policies concerning the return of Taiwan and the achievement of peaceful reunification. Included was a proposal for negotiations on an equal footing between the CCP and the KMT to carry out the third instance of cooperation and to complete together the great undertaking of national reunification.

Q: Why do you argue strongly for using peaceful means to solve the problem of Taiwan's return to the motherland?

A: We are all of the same flesh and blood, and it is better not to resort to violence. A peaceful solution would be better all around. Therefore, we have come out in favor of using peaceful means to complete the great undertaking of reunification. This is in keeping with the basic interests of all the people throughout the nation, including our fellow countrymen in Taiwan. The nine points proposed by Chairman Ye fully embody this spirit--that is, to attain the goal of reunification and not resort to violent means. Thus, many people within the country and abroad have praised these nine points as being farsighted, bold, fair, reasonable, and remarkable. You see, these nine points fully respect the realities of Taiwan and give great consideration to the plight of the Taiwan

authorities. Once Taiwan returns to the motherland and peaceful reunification is achieved, Taiwan can become a special administrative area and enjoy a high degree of autonomy as well as retain its armed forces. The central government would not intervene in Taiwan's local affairs. Taiwan's current social and economic systems would not change, nor would the way of life there. Economic and cultural relations with foreign countries would not be altered. We would not infringe upon the ownership of private property, homes, land, or enterprises, nor would we encroach upon the legitimate right of inheritance or foreign investments. Taiwan authorities and representative personages from all walks of life could assume leading posts in nationwide government organizations and take part in running the nation. If the KMT authorities continue for any length of time to reject our tolerance and forbearance and our lenient conditions, they are bound to become increasingly isolated and encounter more and more difficulties. Consequently, we deeply believe that this great cause of the return of Taiwan and peaceful reunification can certainly be achieved.

Q: What is the great significance of carrying out the third act of cooperation between the CCP and the KMT? What is the possibility of this occurring?

A: We know that there have been two instances of cooperation between the CCP and the KMT in history. The first instance of cooperation between the CCP and the KMT resulted in the eradication of the northern warlords and the victory of the Northern Expedition. The second instance of cooperation enabled the Chinese people to wage the great 8-year-long War of Resistance Against Japan, to defeat Japanese imperialism, and to win the war against Japan. The historical fact of these two acts of cooperation vividly show how cooperation between the CCP and the KMT is of benefit to the development of the nation and to the future of the people. If we can carry out the third act of cooperation and achieve the great undertaking of national reunification, then the strength of all our countrymen, including those in Taiwan, could be joined so that we could make a concerted effort to rapidly establish our country as a great, thriving, socialist, modernized power. This would be of benefit to peace in the Far East and in the world.

Carrying out the great undertaking of returning Taiwan to the motherland and achieving reunification is the will of the people and the general trend of the times. It is the common wish of all nationalities throughout the country, including our fellow countrymen in Taiwan. It is a necessity of historical development. In the past few years, all the peoples throughout the country, including our compatriots in Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Macao, as well as overseas Chinese, have actively made various efforts and engaged in all kinds of activities to promote the great cause of the return of Taiwan to the motherland. Men of insight on Taiwan have also fervently endorsed the opening of mail and air service as well as commerce. They have also made all kinds of contacts between personnel on both sides, hoping to achieve national reunification at an early date. The Taiwan authorities have consistently upheld the view of one China and have opposed an independent Taiwan. This is our common standpoint; it is the foundation for cooperation. Proceeding from this common point, we can gradually arrive at even more common points and finally achieve reunification. The 980 million people on the mainland are presently engaged in the establishment of the four modernizations. A fine situation of stability and unity has

appeared in our country, and circumstances are better than ever before. Our international prestige is also increasing. All this is favorable for implementing the third act of cooperation between the CCP and the KMT and for completing the great undertaking of national reunification.

Q: Is there a contradiction between placing our hopes on the Taiwan people and placing our hopes on the Taiwan authorities?

A: In placing our hopes on the 18 million people of Taiwan, we hope that the vast number of Taiwan compatriots will display their patriotic spirit, actively encourage the early realization of great unity among all the people, and together enjoy national glory. At present the KMT has control of the real power on Taiwan. Even though we are doing our best to use peaceful means to solve this problem, we of course see the KMT as our adversary in negotiations. Therefore, we also place our hopes on the KMT's stand in favor of one China and in opposition to "two Chinas." We hope that they will seriously consider what is right for the people, renounce prior ill will, and join hands with us to complete the great task of national reunification and implement the grand plan of developing China. The goal of these two "hopes" are consistent and not contradictory. They both are for the purpose of achieving the return of Taiwan to the motherland and completing the great task of national reunification. The nine-point policy proposed by Chairman Ye Jianying and the speech given by Chairman Hu Yaobang at the plenary session in the capital commemorating the 70th anniversary of the revolution of 1911 show that our policy regarding the return of Taiwan and regarding the attainment of peaceful reunification is sincere, and that it is our long-term policy decision. It must certainly be put into effect in a resolute manner. We mean what we say. This is not a measure of expediency. The current question is that we hope the KMT authorities will quickly arrive at a clear understanding of the situation and expedite negotiations between the CCP and the KMT. We hope that they will not continue to remain passive.

"No one can be closer than your own flesh and blood; no pain can be greater than that of separation." Blood is thicker than water, and feelings run deep between flesh and blood. Taiwan in the end must return to the embrace of the motherland. The dream of our Taiwan compatriots to reunite with their relatives on the mainland must be realized and will be realized.

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